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"HISTORIC PERIODS."

BY W. W. BROOM, EDITOR OF "TEMPLE OF OPINIONS."

Tayler Lewis is one of our profound thinkers and vigorous writers. He does not write to please, but to instruct and inspire. He has studied history for a noble purpose. From its monuments of classic heroism he has taken the signs of danger, of warning, of hope and of preservation. He has made history leap on the page of exhortation as a living thing of huge proportions and immense vitality. He makes Minerva loom up from the ruins of Grecian grandeur, and her placid face invokes thought from the hot passions of the present. One of the finest, if not *the* finest, essays born of our rebellion, was Professor Lewis's "Photograph from the Ruins of Ancient Greece." The importance of the work is such that, long after its publication in numerous forms, the *World* devoted several columns of criticism to its searching logic. This time he dips his pen in the fire of indignation, to enkindle the dormant patriotism of forgetful or forgetting men. This time he names his work "The Historic Periods of a Nation's History." It is a work of trenchant power, of deep warnings from history, of sage penetration, of Roman strength draped in Grecian beauty, of republican purity and American nationality. We will gather a few flowers from this garden of facts and rhetoric. Tayler Lewis refers us, in the following passage, to

ENGLAND'S NOBLEST PERIOD.

"There never was in England a nobler period than that of the war of the Puritans against the Stuarts. Its honor is now again emerging from the cloud, but we know that unprincipled reaction and a base reconstruction, under the name of restoration, put the brand of inglorious centuries upon the most heroic cause and the most heroic names in English history. We must see to it that our Hampdens, our Pyms and our Vanes, our civil and military heroes, our glorious asserters of the fundamental idea of the American Republic, be not suffered to fall under the same long reproach. Above all must we see to it that the Monks and the Clarendons do not get the upper hand—that *they* be not the men to represent us and our history in generations to come."

The Professor gives us a photograph of

ANDREW JOHNSON'S PAST.

"Talking of extremists when, in all the proceedings that for long years were preparing this war, he himself was one of the extremes of Southern extremists, voting with them through Kansas, through Lecompton, his name standing on record with Davis, Mason, Slidell, Toombs and Wigfall as constantly and as regularly as the letters of the alphabet. He now sees things swinging round, and puts on a par with the extremists to whom he had so long allied himself (even to the very verge of the traitorous plunge), men who never violated a law of the land, and who have been ever foremost in defence of our national honor."

He refreshes our memory about our late struggle, and says it was

A NATION AGAINST REBELS.

"It was not a war between North and South, it was not a war between two factions in a nation, it was not a civil war. All these paltry ideas belittle the contest and dishonor the mighty hosts of the dead. It was a nation struggling for its life. It was the nation against rebels at the South and malignant copperheads at the North, combined with all in Europe who desired our ruin, who were opposed to the glorious doctrine of Human Brotherhood, and who hated the very name of Republicanism."

With the manly sorrow of an uncorrupted American, he stands by the graves of our heroes and sings the requiem for

THE DEAD AND THE GONE.

"O, the dead and gone! the myriads of the slain! how keen the pang, how utterly unendurable the thought that ye should have died in such a war as these representations would make it to be—having so little principle, so little of the heroic, either in result or in idea. Ye verily thought that ye were contending for a great right, when lo! it turns out to be a mere strife of factions 'swinging round.' *Your* enemies, and the enemies of Republicanism, were nearly as honorable as yourselves; they had nearly, if not quite, as good grounds of right as yourselves! They were compelled to lay down their arms; they fight no longer; they have thrown up the sponge, as the vulgar boxer says, and now we must treat each other and indulge in a mutual gabble, in the Blair style, about each other's pluck and bravery."

One more flower from this wreath of patriotism! We pluck a violet fixed in leaves of rue. The perfume sweetens the baptized soil, the leaves declare the bitterness of our anguish. Shall we learn no lessons from these graves that record the scars of time? no lessons of duty, of virtue, of love—of duty to the present, of virtue to ourselves, of love to the long wronged and oppressed?

COLLEGE HEROES.

"But there came another call, and on the morning referred to, out of a class division of thirty there were eight places silent at the calling of the roll. Their occupants had given their names to a regiment destined for Port Hudson. They endured the severest hardship of the camp and the battle-field as manfully and as cheerfully as they had ever sported on the college green. Some of them never came back. Among these were the prize scholar, the beloved of his class, the only son of his mother. He sleeps by Port Hudson, his grave trampled upon by insolent rebels, but often visited, perhaps, and strewed with flowers and tears by the loyal son of Africa. Oh, those noble boys, worthy of all the renown they have ever read of on the classic page! It comes over me sometimes in a feeling of unbelieving wonder. Were these heroes of the fiercest battle-fields indeed the same young lads whose familiar faces had so often been before me in the lecture-room—those playful boys, so fond of mingling sport with study, and whom I had so often chided for their mirth-loving irregularities? As I think of those young dead faces lying in the trench or among the blackened ruins of the mine, there comes up a feeling of repentance that, like a croaking senior, I should have ever talked to them of the degeneracy of the age. Those noble boys! How soon did the times bring them up, not merely to manhood—that false manhood to which we are too apt to hurry in the low selfishness of ordinary life—but to the fullest stature of the most heroic humanity! From the older graduates of the college, more than three hundred went forth, filling all grades, from the general to the private; whilst from larger institutions they mustered in still greater numbers."

This heroism of heroes he exhorts us to

EMBALM IN MEMORY.

"Set its glory now so high that it shall be lowered never. Let it be so photographed in the soul of the nation that its bright features shall be never dimmed or lost. Let it be embalmed in the fragrant odors of memory, beyond all reach of harm or danger. This is the present work, demanding no less of struggle, no less of heroism than the war itself."

Professor Lewis gives his influence to the patriotic doctrine that Radicals, *not* rebels, must "run the machine." He puts the position in a few sentences. His desire and demand may be appropriately termed

PARDON WITHOUT POWER.

"Humphrey in the gubernatorial chair of Mississippi, Munroe chief magistrate of New Orleans, Stephens in the Senate, Orr and Wise in Congress, and Davis on the gallows! Guilty as he is, guilty as they all are, we could not bear the inconsistency. Some rebels may be punished whilst some are pardoned; but we cannot admit some to seats in Congress and make an example of any. Such an act of admission is a complete cancelling of the crime of all. It is equivalent to a solemn decision, that there is, in fact, no crime in assailing our national life. It is only a difference of opinion, a viewing things from another standpoint, and, therefore, perfectly compatible with moral and political integrity."

What all true men have now to do, is to work with all their might to obtain the ballot for the colored people in every State, so that right will be the glory of our nation, and rebels be kept from regaining their self-forfeited power. The work of Abolitionists cannot be finished until *every vestige* of the once dominant Slave Power is *annihilated*. Societies and papers are needed to be maintained to accomplish this magnificent result in the progress of American Republicanism. Old men may drop by the wayside, to wait for honored graves; our circles of earnest and plodding workers may be contracted, but they will also become concentrated and intensified with a divine zeal for mankind's freedom. The work is none the less needed and glorious because it is not received by the plaudits of passionate multitudes. We cannot shut our mouths nor lay down our pens while the emancipated are unprotected with the rights of manhood. We must labor until *color* is no longer a deprivation of rights in the church, in politics, and in the workshop. Emancipation without the protection that manhood only can give, is a house without food, land without a plough, strength to *labor without work to do*—is work unsweetened with reward. No Abolitionist can *tolerate* such a condition of society. He knows it is *a crime* against his principles, his conscience, his religion. To be false to the rights of colored men because the sun's rays have tinged their skins, is to be an enemy to the rights and humanity of white men, and to the civilization of mankind.

Tayler Lewis is working with us to secure manhood for the oppressed—the only triumph that can crown our late blood-shedding with *victory!* We ask our readers to circulate his "Historic Periods in a Nation's History" among the timid, the doubting, the halting, and the ignorant. The perfume will refresh the wearied and console the waiting.

ENFRANCHISE THE NEGRO.

Hon. Hamilton Ward, of New York, in an able speech delivered in the House of Representatives a few days since, made an eloquent plea for the enfranchisement of the negro, from which we make the following extract:

But, Mr. Chairman, it will be said that I am in favor of universal negro suffrage at the South. Indeed, sir, I am. The ballot is the only protection, after all, that men have in this country. Take the ballot away from a class and that class will not have equal rights with those who do exercise the ballot. Your civil rights bill is well, necessary, but what avail is it unless it is enforced. Put it into the Constitution as you will, and as you should, but it will be a rainbow in the cloud to the oppressed people of the South without there is some power there to enforce it; beautiful to look upon, but giving no warmth or light, it "will hold the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope."

We have a good civil rights bill in the Constitution as it stands. The freedom of the press, of speech, and protection to life, liberty, and property are secured thereby, and yet for more than half a century none of those rights have been enjoyed by a large portion of the Southern people, they were only granted to a privileged class. The black man was not allowed to learn to read the Constitution that pointed him to liberty, or the Bible that pointed him to God; the white man who had spoken or written against slavery was hanged upon the nearest tree or banished from the realm. And so it will be again if suffrage is not impartial. Southern courts now defy and disobey the civil rights bill. Everything there is organized against the black man, from the judge upon the bench to the constable with his process; every officer, State, legislative, judicial, county, town, and municipal, who is called upon in any manner to enforce those laws and carry out those sacred guarantees of the Constitution, are the enemies of the loyal men and freedmen, and opposed to the execution of those laws and guarantees. The black man is helpless to punish or remove from office those unfaithful officers; he has no vote, no place in the jury-box, no means of organization for the defence of his rights; but with the ballot in his hands, all will be well; these officials will do him justice, and there will be in every State, county, town, and precinct in the South a power in the hands of our friends to protect themselves and to preserve the Republic.

We cannot afford longer to feed these people upon husks. We denied them their rights until those rights were reasserted in the smoke of battle and in the blood of a million men. Let us be wise at last. We put the bullet into their hands when traitors struck at the nation's life—why not give them the ballot to preserve that nation from treason in another guise?

Their skins are black you say; ay, but their hearts are true and their blood is loyal. They were good enough to fight—why not good enough to vote? I cannot upon this subject but quote my own words upon a former occasion:

"And the four million black men who were the slaves and under the control of the rebels, who were away from the Union lines and its protection, who only knew God because they saw Him in the stars and heard Him in the winds—for the Bible to them was a forbidden book—they who had only known the flag from the stripes it gave them, and the Union from the chains it bound them with; they who, from the first, sent their morning and evening prayers to Heaven that the nation might live, who furnished our soldiers flying from captivity and death with guide and shelter, food and fire, while the master let slip bloodhounds on the fugitives' track—who of the four millions betrayed a loyal man? Not one who but exposed the traitor master. This faithfulness on the part of those poor, simple, ignorant men is, to my mind, one of the grandest phases that the war has developed.

"How strange the contrast between the slave in his chains and the master who had been pampered by the government. The former kissed and upheld the rod that had smitten him; the latter smote the hand that had fed him. And yet we are asked at this time to consign these loyal men, both white and black, to the mercy, as I have said, of these rebels and enemies.

"I am free to say, Mr. Chairman, that if such is to be the policy of this government, it is recreant to its high duty; it is unworthy of all the blood shed and treasure expended in its cause; it deserves to perish in its ingratitude, and be blotted from the face of the earth."

But we are told, "give them a qualified suffrage," "give it to those who can read and write or who own property and pay taxes."

As to the first proposition, I must say that I deem it wholly impracticable. We cannot with any justice or fairness apply an intelligence qualification to the black unless we do so to the white voters, and in so doing we would disfranchise many thousands who are now voters. We cannot take the back track, and disfranchise loyal white men in the South and elsewhere who have exercised that privilege for years, and some of whom, white and black, have confronted treason upon many a bloody field, and have worn the livery of the Republic. Would you take the ballot from them? Besides, we need them all to vote down traitors. Are they not good enough for that?

We did not ask the black men at Port Hudson and at Petersburg whether they could read, when we entrusted them with the country's honor and its flag; shall we insist upon it now, when the ballot is needed for their and our protection in the South? As to a property qualification, that is simply absurd, and a blot where it exists upon the civilization of the age. Benjamin Franklin's illustration in such a case, that it is the jackass that votes and not the man, has never been controverted. Discriminations in political privileges against some classes and in favor of others, in a free country, are odious and productive of popular discontent. The only test of suffrage in this country is manhood. Give it to all men—to the poor and the lowly; lift them up to the dignity of the sovereign. Some say that the ex-slave will vote as the ex-master directs, and this slander has been repeated in high official quarters.

The negro knew on which side to fight and to pray during the rebellion; he will know well on which side to vote. He has got his liberty, after a century of bondage; he will guard that liberty well when he handles the ballot.

These same objectors said that the negro would not fight; that he would be guilty of all kinds of excesses in his newly-found liberty; that he would not work. Like the sixty-day oracle of the State Department, they are shown to be false prophets.

The negro fought well; he obeyed the law; he went to work like a good citizen. He is learning to read and write all over the South with an earnestness and a rapidity that is astonishing. Trust him with the ballot; he will use it better than a white traitor.

WILL CONGRESS KEEP UP TO THE MARK?

This is a question that may be answered in the affirmative. But with the experience derived from its first session, in which there were many instances of wavering, it is well for the people to maintain a steady agitation, and give their servants no rest nor peace until the measures necessary for the nation's welfare are definitely settled.

The press of the country congratulates itself that Congress, now fresh from the people, will inaugurate a policy that will gratify that loyal consistency which has so effectually pronounced against Andrew Johnson.

But there is danger that, after a time, the demands of the people will be regarded as an old story. There is something in the atmosphere of Washington that seems to deaden the sensibilities of National Representatives, so that important questions are decided upon, more in regard to their effect upon personal reputations and party at home, than upon the interests of the country at large.

There is now no excuse for the shirking of responsibilities. The elections are over. The members for the Fortieth Congress are chosen. Members of the Thirty-ninth Congress, second session, have no ghosts of past records to haunt them about securing re-election; and old members re-elected for the Fortieth Congress, feeling that they have the confidence of their supporters, can perform their duty without fear of consequences, even if they happen to make *radical* blunders occasionally.

Now, will Congress stand firm? We hope so. Each member should devote his energies to the *work before him, assured that the most radical measures are demanded by the country.* The more radical those measures the better. Senators and Representatives cannot go too far, seemingly, if they keep ever in view the true remedy for all our present political troubles. Certainly they will be very reasonable, if they remand the people and the lands in the South back into what would correspond with a territorial condition, which is the one grand basis for the settlement of our present difficulties. Will Congress stand firm on this one ground, and from it logically build up a true commonwealth? It can, if the people will so order it.—*The Right Way.*

THE JAMAICA MASSACRE.

From the New Orleans Tribune.

We are permitted by our fellow-citizen and friend, J. W. Menard, to copy below the letter he has just addressed to John Stuart Mill, member of the English Parliament and Chairman of the Jamaica Committee, on the subject of the events of October, 1865, in that colony;

New Orleans (U. S.), Nov. 25, 1866.

Hon. John Stuart Mill, M. P., Chairman Jamaica Committee, London.

Sir: A residence of two years in Jamaica, from 1863 to 1865, has necessarily put me in possession of facts, which, if faithfully represented, may give additional force to the movement of your Committee and the cause of justice. It must be known to you that the planting interest is yet the ruling power in Jamaica; that it is slavish, in spirit and tendency; that it monopolizes everything, in church, in State, in social life and in every department of trade and commerce; that to oppose it, is high treason—a crime whose punishment is social proscription and disqualification for any honorable position. It is, in a word, king and dictator, whose errors and impositions are supreme law, and he who so far forgets himself as to point them out in any way, is at once "spotted" and driven beyond the pale of employment and the means of livelihood by the ape aristocracy. The laboring class—blacks of course—are the sole unhappy victims of the lingering Slave Power. For them there is no office; no honorable positions, except a hard task in the sugar-house, the still-house, the cane-field and the coffee mountain.

They can go no higher; no other avenues are open to them, and their wages are so small as to put the acquirement of property, real or personal, beyond their reach or hope. With no other alternative, then, except starvation, they are compelled to labor hard from year to year at an average of one shilling a day to keep soul and body together.

I have been employed myself as a book-keeper on one of the sugar estates in Jamaica, and *know* whereof I speak.

Unfortunately for the blacks, the overseers are all Justices of the Peace; and leagued together to defend and promote their own interests. This is an excellent arrangement; and the man who opposes it, if he has a public appointment, is sure to lose his official head.

George William Gordon was once a Justice of the Peace for several parishes; but as soon as he took a stand against the combined observers, his commissions were cancelled. The collectors of dues or taxes do not dare assess and collect the dues from the overseers on the estates, according to law. They must be satisfied with what the overseers give in. They dare not enforce the law upon them. About one-half of the working-stock on the estates only is licensed. The balance, of course, is driven "on Her Majesty's service." The blacks, on the other hand, do not fare so well. They cannot use the franking privileges. If they have a donkey or horse, they must be very punctual in having it licensed at the specified time; if they are careless in letting the time run on, say two weeks, their donkey or horse is seized and put in the public pound, and there kept till all dues are paid.

Under this system of outrage and bold imposition, then, is it strange that the blacks should tire of patience, and seek another mode of redress? Is it not folly for them to expect justice from the overseer magistrates? Is it strange that they should revolt, and seek redress for their wrongs in the spirit of "liberty or death?"

Oppression is the mother of revolution; it sows the seed of bloodshed, and very often the innocent are made to reap its terrible harvest. Hence the conception and precipitation of the Jamaica riot. But the responsibility and evil consequences of that riot do not rest solely on ex-Gov. Eyre. He is too weak, too womanish, too devoid of manly courage and sound judgment to *direct* a movement of any kind, whether good or evil. His cowering timidity and official stupidity would be pardonable were it not for his mischievous proclivities. He was simply a pliable dupe in Jamaica, bought by the overseer dynasty to legalize their acts of corruption and imposition; and true to his calling, he did their dirty work according "to order." Mr. Eyre was the same to the ape aristocracy of Jamaica as President Johnson is to the rebel copperhead element in the United States. The only difference between the two political dupes, is that the former, with womanish timidity, *follows* events, while the latter, with an ignorance mingled with ambition and egotism never before excelled by any one man, *makes* and *temporarily controls* them.

I resided in the parish of St. David, in Jamaica, over a year. Mr. Clarke, whose murderers your Committee are trying to bring to the bar of justice, lived in the same parish. We lived in the same place, and I enjoyed his confidence and friendship. He was a vestryman; and had marked influence among his black fellow-men. He sought redress for their wrongs; took their cases to court and defended them. He was well informed on law matters, and displayed a tact which was a mystery to the overseers of the surrounding parishes; and, notwithstanding the combined pressure usually brought to bear against him, was generally victorious. He was a brave, open enemy to the overseer dynasty; would oppose and expose their corruption and impositions at every chance; and for this reason, made himself odious with the ruling classes. The blacks would come to him from distant parishes for advice on all legal matters. Wm. P. Georges, Custos of the parish of St. David, and proprietor of an estate in the same parish, was always an enemy to Clarke. They were always at swords' ends; they would quarrel at every vestry meeting. Georges was windy, boisterous and threatening; and as he was Custos and held the keys of the public crib in the parish, generally held everybody in silent awe, except Clarke.

When the riot broke out, all those who were known to be in sympathy with the blacks were arrested and lodged in jail indiscriminately. Men and women were "cattled" for trivial offences, at the instance of overseers or other persons of petty authority. The day of retribution had come; and the old slave spirit rose from its grave and boldly asserted its ancient power. Freedom of speech had flapped its wings and departed, while the press seemed mesmerized as by the the power of an unseen agency. Dr. Bowerbank, who was Custos of Kingston, and who had made himself infamous by converting the Public Hospital into a slaughter-house by his surgical ignorance, now had an opportunity of revenging himself on some of his traducers. He made good the opportunity, and directed the arrest of all those who were known to be friendly disposed towards the blacks. He found a ready tool to execute his orders in the person of Alex. Nairn, the wigged Inspector of Police for Kingston.

All those who were prominent in the Underhill movement were arrested. But Dr. Bowerbank was not the only one who took advantage of the favored time. There were others; the most prominent of whom was Wm. P. Georges, already named. He had two of his vestrymen arrested—Samuel Clarke and Robert Levy. He had Clarke hanged, and when he returned from his work of death to St. David, he boastingly told the blacks that he had "hung their king." He was asked to have Levy share the same fate, but spared his life because Levy was only a new enemy, and had not opposed him so much as Clarke.

Mr. Clarke often told me that, were it not for him, the blacks would have revolted before. He was by no means a revolutionist; he was law-abiding; and was always hopeful that England would send a commission to investigate the wholesale corruption in Jamaica. When Dr. Underhill sent his terrible bombshell into the pro-slavery camps of Jamaica, Mr. Clarke was among the first to re-echo its thunder. He wrote and spoke for the endorsement of Mr. Underhill's representation, until the whole Island was in flames on the subject of corruption, bribery and oppression. There is no doubt but that the great impulse awakened by Mr. Underhill's letter had an indirect tendency to precipitate the revolt. That this impulse was awakened unintentionally, is made manifest by Mr. Underhill's own words subsequently. The act of arresting Mr. Clarke in Kingston under civil authority, *without warrant* (after the riot had been put down), and transporting him to Morant Bay, where martial law ruled, does not seem to be warranted by British laws; and his subsequent *execution without trial or conviction*, is an act which compromises British honor and justice unless the laws are vindicated and the combined aristocratic culprits brought to justice. But I cannot, through this medium, represent one-tenth of such facts as would be of value to your Committee. It would require a volume. So I must content myself with the foregoing, with a sincere hope that your Committee will be successful in redeeming pending British honor, and in promoting the great cause of Human Justice.

I am, sir, very obediently,
John Willis Menard.

THE PRESS.

THE PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The *Herald*, of late, has advocated "radical reconstruction" very zealously. It extends a hearty support to Mr. Stephens's North Carolina bill. It says:

The important bill for the reconstruction of North Carolina from the very foundation, which Mr. Stevens introduced in the House of Representatives on Thursday, is the last, most thorough, and we think final plan of settling the whole question of Southern restoration. It is comprehensive and both liberal and conservative at the same time. It leaves no room for quibbling about pretended rights based upon a state of things anterior to the rebellion and subjugation of the South. It deals frankly and directly with the actual condition and status of that section of the country. It is, we are persuaded, the surest and readiest way to restore the South within the shortest time practicable.

This bill, it is true, only provides for "re-establishing civil government in North Carolina, to enable it to resume its former relations as one of the constituent States of the American Union;" but it is undoubtedly the plan in substance which is to be applied to all the other rebel States. And although it was introduced in a quiet, unostentatious manner, "at the request," as Mr. Stevens said, "of several gentlemen from North Carolina," it was evidently carefully prepared and endorsed by the dominant party in Congress, as a platform and basis of general action. In introducing this measure, framed by the mind of a statesman, Mr. Stevens has abandoned the *role* he sometimes takes, of an extreme radical partisan, and is made the leader of a great party for carrying out a grand and comprehensive policy. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, but we suppose it will not lie there long. In all probability it will soon be brought before Congress again, when the whole question of restoration will be discussed and disposed of for all the other rebel States as well as for North Carolina.

* * * * * * *

Thus, then, the late rebel States are to be forced by the supreme power of Congress to return to their status in the Union. They will not be allowed to keep the country in a disorganized condition to gratify their sullen and ridiculous opposition, or to indulge their absurd hair-splitting quibbles about constitutional rights which have no real existence. The loyal States are tired of the present abnormal state of things, and will force restoration upon the people they still hold under subjugation. The Northern people want peace and harmony and the resources of the country developed for their own sake. They want that strength, both at home and abroad, which a restored Union only can give. This is the secret and motive of the present important movement in Congress.

If the South be wise it will cease talking about its fancied rights and imagined grievances, learn that there has been a revolution, see that it is absolutely in the hands of its conquerors, and accept promptly the Congressional plan of reorganization and restoration. If they do this they will be fully restored to the Union within a year or so, their troubles will be ended, their beautiful country will enter upon a glorious career of prosperity and they will help to elect the next President in 1868.

RADICAL DEMOLITION OF THE SOUTHERN STATE GOVERNMENTS.

Commenting upon Mr. Stevens's bill, the *World* says:

Thus opens the Radical campaign in earnest and will stir public feeling to its profoundest depths. It begins where President Johnson began, with the State of North Carolina, and intends to follow his track through the whole circuit of reconstruction. As his North Carolina proclamation was the model of all his subsequent proclamations, so this bill for demolishing his work in that State, is the destined model of its nine successors. It provides for a Convention of 120 members to meet at Raleigh on the 20th of May next, to frame and set up a new State government. These 120 delegates are to be elected by voters without distinction of color; a majority is to be a quorum, and they are to be clothed with power to form a constitution to be submitted to Congress for its sanction. The President of the United States is required to give this movement his active co-operation by appointing officers to initiate it, and by using the land and naval forces for its protection.

This bill is a fire-brand flung into the South to rekindle the old animosities. To-day, we merely announce it, but will not discuss it. * * * It is far better that it should be defeated in Congress than in another arena—and we are persuaded that nothing but the utmost temperance of statement can gain a hearing for adverse arguments.

The *Times* comments upon the North Carolina bill, and as usual endeavors to hold itself in a position to follow in the lead of the strongest party. It says in substance:

The measure looks premature. * * * The bill is inexpedient. * * * It takes for granted a question that is yet undecided; and it closes the only door through which men like Gov. Patton could hope to pass. * * * * * *

Mr. Stevens's doctrine of State suicide is hardly likely to be the approved basis of reconstruction. The Republican party has already repudiated the theory that the Southern States are or have been outside of the Union; and we do not anticipate the passage of a bill founded on the opposite assumption.

Again the *Times* says:

Rather than permit the present state of affairs to continue indefinitely, fraught as it is with ill-feeling and peril, we would push forward reconstruction on the Territorial plan. It were better to assume that task, with all its delicate contingencies, than permit a practical severance of the Union, or its restoration on a basis to be fixed by the rebel leaders. And to this complexion we believe it will come at last. The folly and contumacy of the South may necessitate and justify it as a means of consummating the victory achieved by the Union forces. But is it prudent to take the step before renewing the offer of compromise, contemplated in Mr. Spalding's resolution? We ask simply, is it expedient? for the right of Congress to adopt ulterior measures, even to the extent of beginning afresh the work of organizing local governments, we are prepared to concede. Only let this severe and sweeping policy come not too soon or too hastily.

May it not be wise to give the moderate element at the South a little further time for the assertion of its strength? We dare not hope that that strength will prevail; but the trial will be beneficial, inasmuch as it will test the power of the rational portion of the people, and will prevent their consolidation against the course which may be afterward adopted by Congress. Considering the question in this light, Mr. Spalding's resolution seemed to us judicious; subject, however, to the understanding that an extension of time for ratification should not extend beyond the present session.

Of the other propositions, Mr. Sumner's is in many respects preferable. It is more in harmony with the principle which pervaded the policy of *the government during the war, and it is more* likely to commend itself to the popular judgment than the doctrine of State suicide in any shape. It has another advantage. A series of resolutions, affirming principles and facts, is a more convenient basis of discussion than a bill in which principles and details are always more or less mixed. Besides, the time consumed in the consideration of these resolutions would really be an extension of grace in connection with the amendment, while the bill shuts off all chance of repentance.

The question is the most momentous that has arisen since the suppression of the rebellion. And in its solution the country has need of the patience and the temper as well as the principle of its best statesmen.

THE BILL CONTRADICTORY, A STULTIFICATION AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

The *World* further declares:

This bill is not only in glaring contradiction to the professions, promises, and avowed tenets of the Republican party, as heretofore declared, but it contradicts and stultifies itself. It treats North Carolina as being at the same time a State and a Territory, which is as absurd as it would be to consider a woman as being, at the same time, single and married. If North Carolina is a Territory, United States circuit and district courts cannot be held therein; and yet the bill makes these courts an essential part of the machinery by which the new government is to be set up. If North Carolina is a State, Congress has no authority to force her people to frame a new Constitution. The bill, all through, designates that ancient commonwealth as "the district formerly comprising the State of North Carolina," and the House, chiming in with this idea, after the bill had been twice read, referred it to the Committee on Territories. But a law treating a State as a Territory is clearly unconstitutional, and will be so adjudged by the Supreme Court. If it should be passed over the veto, the President will immediately bring it to a judicial test and that will end it, in a manner more summary than its defeat by the people of North Carolina, which would otherwise be its slower but not less certain fate.

THE DISAGREEABLE NECESSITY OF ENDORSING MR. SUMNER'S POLICY.

The Albany *Evening Journal*, in noticing the condition of the South as set forth in official reports, gives reluctant support to radical measures, as follows:

Facts like these demonstrate the necessity for sufficient and irreversible guaranties, which shall secure through all time the liberties that were won by the bloody sacrifices of war. Congress would be derelict to its high duty, should it fail to secure these now, while jurisdiction over the subject is confessedly in its hands. To recognize the State governments of the South as finalities, would be to surrender control over the question. The Constitutional Amendment was therefore offered as a basis of compromise. It asked for the very least the nation could demand. It accorded everything the rebels ought to expect.

It becomes apparent that, acting under advice of the Executive and the Democratic party, the South will refuse to accept this amendment. Nothing has been offered in its stead; nothing is even suggested which meets the exigencies of the situation. The alternative is therefore presented, of leaving the States now unrepresented in the hands of rebel leaders, in an attitude of uncompromising revolt against the government, and with an exacerbated state of feeling growing out of the unsettled issue, always threatening rupture, and constantly prejudicing public interests; or of exercising the Constitutional power vested in Congress, and so reconstructing their governments, that they shall be loyal in their constituents, republican in form, and in unbroken harmony with the Union.

Precisely what shape the legislation thus foreshadowed will take, must be determined by circumstances; and largely, of course, by the attitude of the politicians of the South. Mr. Sumner's policy would not have any sympathy from the masses of the people, were not more radical measures deemed an absolute necessity in view of the attitude of the rebels. One thing is absolutely certain; some settlement will be effected, and on terms which are no less decisive than those embodied in the Constitutional Amendment.

GROPING IN THE DARK.

The *Express* comments as follows upon Mr. Greeley's last departure:

The editor of the *Tribune*, in an article over his own initials, ("H. G.") the other day, used this language:

"I am for universal amnesty—so far as immunity and confiscation is concerned—even though impartial suffrage should, for the present, be resisted and defeated."

Unhappy H. G.! In that one short avowal, exhales and evaporates the whole of his chances for reaching the United States Senatorship, unless (as the late Mr. Lincoln would have said) he "turns tail," like Beecher, and sinks conscience, manhood, and self-respect into the vile status of the hireling and the hypocrite.

Unhappy H. G.! He must craw-fish like Beecher, or the buffaloes and wild boars will trample and gore him, just as they have done with sundry other would-be conservatives.

RAYMOND.

The *World* says:

Raymond voted for negro suffrage in the District of Columbia yesterday. This action, together with the advocacy of the territorial scheme in his paper, entitles him to a position in the rear rank of old Thad. Stevens's followers. His indorsement of Fred. Douglass for Senator from the Empire State comes next in order.

The Chicago *Evening Journal* says of the Thirty-ninth Congress:

Thus far it promises to be energetic without being rash—thorough without being fanatical. One or two members, to be sure, have planted themselves at the extreme end of the Republican platform, where the dividing line between it and Abolitionism is rather indistinct. If there was aught to be feared from this—which happily there is not—the known prudence and cool judgment of their colleagues and fellow-workers is assurance enough against all hasty and intemperate action. Mr. Sumner, for instance, is quibbling about the admission of Nebraska because its proposed Constitution denies suffrage to freedmen, while Mr. Wade and many others look narrowly to the pledges of the Republican party touching the constitutional amendments, determined to observe good faith to the uttermost iota. As long as our legislators are thus careful to observe their party position, recognizing their promises as sacred and inviolable; as long as they bring sagacity and fidelity to the task before them, we need have no fear for results. We are gratified that our Congress seems to appreciate the delicacy and weight of its duties. Let it be proportionably industrious in the dispatch of the great mass of business to be done, and the nation will soon feel relief in many respects; and not the least of these will be a restored confidence in its lawgivers; for it is not to be denied that the action of the last Congress rather shook popular confidence. We were apprehensive that one faction would move rashly in the matter of impeaching the President. The expediency of this step is not to be settled in an evening session of a bar-room caucus. There are many considerations, *pro* and *con*, which will require a thorough, searching discussion. As long as we have a Congress like the present, Mr. J. will find no little difficulty in doing much mischief, and it may be as well to tolerate him as to complicate the difficulties which beset them by impeaching him. It is questionable whether there are not other matters urgently requiring attention of more important bearing upon the interests of the country. Of this, however, Congress must, and can be, the only arbiter. Let it hold out as it has begun, and our most cheerful prognostications will be fully realized.

The *Evening Post*, in an article on "Congress and the Southern States," speaks as follows:

Mr. Johnson's policy, however well meant, has had the effect to alarm and distress the loyal and liberty-loving part of the nation, and to raise and *encourage the hopes of the most mischievous and ambitious class in the Southern States, the leaders* who plunged the country into civil war. He has thus enormously increased the difficulties of a just and safe settlement. The insolent and determined spirit of opposition which has been aroused by a mistaken policy in the Southern States, has made the adoption of the amendment necessary as a safeguard against a spirit of aggression and insubordination which, had the President acted more wisely, would not have shown its head. For, though it is true that very soon after the surrender of the rebel armies, Southern politicians began to speak of "gaining by political management what they had lost in the war," it is also true that if a dozen or two of the ringleaders of treason had been hanged, the others would have quietly left the country, or would have held their peace and been thankful that they were left unmolested.

That, under the circumstances which have arisen during the last six months, the President does not see fit to cast his influence in favor of the amendment, shows, that he does not yet comprehend either the mischievous effect of his acts and policy upon the Southern States and the country at large, or the spirit and determination of the Northern people. This is to us a matter of sincere regret, for we have reason to believe that if Mr. Johnson should advise the Southern leaders to adopt the amendment, they would give their consent, and it would be adopted. Thus, in the only place where he still possesses influence, he neglects to use it for the end of obtaining a speedy and safe settlement of our difficulties.

This being the condition of things, it is evident that Congress, backed by that part of the nation which was loyal during the war, may properly insist upon the amendment as a condition precedent; and the probability is that with the full consent of the people, it will not even stop short there; but, if the Southern leaders prove obstinate, proceed to other and more decisive measures—measures which will not require the assent of politicians who imagine that because they have escaped hanging for their crimes, they may impose their own terms upon the nation which, at a terrible cost, crushed their treason.

A HERALD OPINION.

The Constitutional Amendment adopted by Congress as the basis of Southern restoration has been contemptuously rejected without even a respectful consideration of the subject by the Legislatures of the excluded States, if we are not mistaken, without a single exception. Thus, when we look at the fair and easy terms of the amendment, it is manifest that nothing can be done with those States so long as they are under the local authorities which now control them. They do not propose to do anything; but they have deliberately resolved to remain out in the cold, trusting to the chapter of accidents to turn up something in favor of a new move for a Southern confederacy. Now, what is to be done with such intractable customers? The only way remaining to bring them to reason and to an honest submission to the issues decided by the war is to reconstruct them from the beginning, as proposed in the bill of Mr. Stevens. In their contemptuous rejection of the Constitutional Amendment, after the solemn warnings of the late Northern elections, the States concerned have betrayed a frame of mind which it would be folly to temporize with any longer.

THURLOW WEED-ISM.

Upon a cursory discussion of the Nebraska bill in the Senate yesterday, Mr. Sumner dragged in the question whether the Southern States should be recognized as restored to their practical relations in the Union, even though their Constitutions discriminated against the freedmen in allowing the suffrage. Mr. Wade, of Ohio, answered that the Constitutional Amendment had been put forward as a condition of adjustment, and was in the nature of an agreement. Upon its acceptance, the States should at once be accorded representation, even though their internal polity was not in harmony with the present sentiment of the North. This is the right sort of talk. Nobody will suspect "bluff Ben" of being a Conservative. But in this matter, he proves himself an honest statesman, ready to abide by any obligations into which the nation has entered. We may find reason to regret that the North did not embrace its opportunity, and at the beginning of the discussion, insist upon universal suffrage as a condition precedent. But the fact is that it did not. The Southern States have been offered recognition on certain terms. If those terms are complied with, we are, by every rule of faith and justice, bound to receive their representatives—as we have already received the representatives of Tennessee—leaving the suffrage problem to be worked out by events, with the balance of interests largely in favor of liberty and humanity.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1866.

IMPEACHMENT.

We touched last week on some considerations which show the value of an impeachment of the President, even if there were little hope of its resulting in a conviction. But there are two very pressing reasons why every effort should be made to secure a conviction. Every Anti-Slavery man remembers what a dead look to all progress the Supreme Court of the United States has been in times past. Its judges, appointed by a Pro-Slavery Executive, selected from the most conservative class, holding their offices for life and growing more and more fossil each year of advancing age—no effort short of revolution seemed able to resist their baneful power.

To-day that same Court stands the same immovable obstacle in our path. It is understood that five judges out of the nine support the President. It is said that they decided, a year ago, that the "iron-clad oath" was unconstitutional, and all that the Chief-Justice could do was to delay the formal announcement of the decision. One of those judges appointed by Lincoln, has joined the enemy. This state of things is an almost insurmountable barrier to some measures which are indispensable to any safe and permanent reconstruction. But all men are mortal. Two of these judges are very old, one other infirm in health. It is very probable that Mr. Johnson may, within two years, have the appointment of two judges, perhaps more. Of course his nominations are subject to the Senate's approval; but we all know, he may select men of fair repute but wedded to his policy, whom it would be impossible to prevent the Senate from confirming.

Such is one of the dangers of leaving a rebel at the head of the government for two years more. We may, and probably shall, have the Supreme Court reinforced with fresh, young blood, to last another quarter of a century, and be always the refuge of abuses and the foe of progress. If his crimes have given us sufficient grounds to remove Johnson and avert this momentous danger, it is fool-hardy, it is madness, to leave the criminal untouched and run all these risks.

There is yet another consideration urging us in the same direction. The readiest, quickest way to secure a true reconstruction seems to be this; for the first step at least: brush away these phantoms, the pretended State governments, and set up Territorial governments in each of the lately rebel States. This gives room to build, gets rid of all the lumber and cobwebs of State Rights and old laws. To-day North Carolina whips negroes by virtue of certain North Carolina laws, all of which the rebellion annihilated. To defend this atrocity cunning rebels talk of North Carolina laws, and confuse the people. There being no such State as North Carolina, there can be, of course, no laws of any such State. Whoever undertook to inflict corporal punishment by virtue of any such laws, deserves, whether he pretends to be governor or judge, the same summary, ignominious punishment that any swindler suffers who personates a policeman and levies black-mail. If Congress remembers its own self-respect, or what it owes to the nation, it will find some way to reach the meddler and punish the outrage. Of course the direct and effectual way to prevent such offences is to sweep away all these military committees and rebel boards *which call themselves* State governments, and set up proper Territorial governments.

There seems some evidence that Congress intends to take this course. But suppose the Radical members achieve this result, what next? Why, the nomination of all Territorial officers belongs to the President. He can so shape his nominations as to keep those governments wholly subservient to his policy. Of course he would not name Wade Hampton or Mayor Munroe to governorships; he knows such men would never be approved by the Senate. But he can select from the ranks of rebeldom, North and South, men more decent but not less dangerous—indeed, for that very reason of their decent behavior, *more* dangerous than the swaggering bravoes of their party—and thus, sure in time of the Senate's acquiescence, make Territories as supple tools as he has made his so-called States.

We see, therefore, that it is impossible to make one step in the direction of thorough and permanent reconstruction while Johnson remains in office. We have the legal right to remove him; the country, indignant and disgusted, demands it; the necessity of the situation requires it. Delay is dangerous, and may be fatal. Who dares to trust such a man as Andrew Johnson with the power thus to baulk the plans of the conqueror—with the power beside so to complicate our domestic with angry foreign questions as to postpone any settlement for a dozen years?

We regard this question of impeachment as being in fact the decision of the question whether the Republican party shall succeed in the next Presidential election. There is very little chance of its doing so unless it removes Johnson out of its path. Give him another two years, and it will be almost a miracle if ever he or his State Secretary are witless enough to allow themselves to be defeated. What their success means every one knows.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Our types made a mistake last week. Mr. Phillips's quotation should have been printed, "leave not a rack behind."

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens has proposed the establishment by Congress in the District of Columbia of free common schools, from which no child six years old or more, residing in said District, shall be excluded, except for improper conduct; the schools to be supported by taxes impartially levied on the assessable property of the District, together with such fixed annual appropriation as Congress may grant. A special committee, of which he is the chairman, has the project under consideration; his colleagues being Messrs. Patterson of New Hampshire, Walker of Ohio, Boutwell of Massachusetts, Moulton of Illinois, Ashley of Nevada, and Hubbell of New York. This measure is very creditable to Mr. Stevens, and is as timely as it is important. For a long time the tax-paying colored people of the District have been compelled to help educate the white children while their own have been rigorously excluded from the schools. It is eminently proper that free schools should be guaranteed with the extension of the ballot. Thus may it be throughout the South.

Hon Wm. D. Kelley presented to the House of Representatives, on Thursday last, a series of resolutions and a Memorial, adopted by the Southern Republican Association (of which Hon. Thomas J. Durant is President), asking Congress to set aside the so-called State governments instituted unlawfully by Mr. Johnson; to establish instead Territorial governments, or something analogous; and to guarantee the "admission to the right of suffrage and eligibility to office of all loyal citizens of the United States, of whatever race or color they may be." We shall present the resolutions and Memorial to our readers next week.

Slavery in Maryland is still alive. Slave sanctions are not yet out of order. The Constitutional Amendment, supposed to have abolished slavery, permits the enslavement of criminals, and black "criminals" are being hurried into slavery with impunity.

RELATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO THE NEGRO.

The necessities of the nation, civil and military, have forced upon it a change of attitude and of policy towards the colored people. The obstinacy of our enemies, the slaveholders, compelled us to free the slaves; the destitute condition of the freedmen, during the time while the war prevented them from agricultural labors for their own maintenance, compelled us to make certain provisions of food, clothing and shelter for them; and now it has become manifest that, if we would have a majority of loyal votes cast in the Southern States, and if loyal men are to be chosen to office there, the negro must have the ballot. These things have been submitted to with more or less willingness; but necessity was the prime mover of every one of them.

The florid eloquence of Northern orators has of course described these events in language highly complimentary to ourselves, assuming that the emancipation was purely a triumph of justice, and that our nation had voluntarily taken a higher and nobler position. But every one of the movements in question was so tardily and reluctantly made, every one met such opposition and obstruction from departments of the government, and the difficulties and delays were so countenanced by the apathy of a majority of the people, that the less we eulogize ourselves upon this subject at present, the better. The amount of the matter so far is that, between going and being pushed, we have got into a position less immoral than formerly. As a nation, we have no right to boast; and yet the improvement in the condition of the colored people is great, both in the steps of progress actually effected, and in the strong pressure existing towards further advances in the same direction.

When our Northern men went to the war, and thence wrote home of what they saw and heard at the South—when the facts and impressions detailed by officers, soldiers and newspaper correspondents were found to corroborate what the Abolitionists had always said against slavery and slaveholders—when the colored people of the South, bond and free, were found to be the only part of that population disposed to hold to the Federal cause—and when a profusion of facts of this sort came with every mail to form the staple of newspaper intelligence and editorial comment, and thus formed the subject of conversation in all circles—the way was paved for a general acceptance of the idea of abolishing slavery. After that idea had become a fact, the Republican party went on to take some timid and moderate steps in the direction of gratitude towards the colored people. And at last, after public sentiment had long declared itself to this effect through the press and the action of statesmen and politicians, the church found it desirable to move in the same direction.

To churches at the North this new movement was easy and simple, because they were urged towards it by a large and a manifestly increasing public sentiment around them. While associations of all sorts outside the church were passing resolutions and taking action in aid of the colored people, it was not decent nor Christian, and it was soon felt not to be prudent, for the churches to lag behind. So Northern churches followed suit with more or less readiness, passed resolutions in their peculiar dialect, and voted supplies of tracts and missionaries (with a little food and clothing to wash them down) for the freedmen.

The Northern Presbyterian churches came into [illegible] *ent among the rest, and the New York Observer*, which, up to that time, had been as much opposed to the elevation of the colored people as any paper in the country, could do no less than follow them. But while assuming to wish as much as anybody that the freedmen might be instructed, fitted for *ultimate* citizenship, and kindly cared for in every way, the crafty editor of the *Observer* insisted strongly that the actual execution of this work should be left to *Southern* men (the slaveholding class of former times) because they were *best acquainted* with the negro, and *understood better* than other men the real necessities and expediencies belonging to his case. He evidently preferred that the negro's transition period should be passed under the manipulation of those who had always assumed that he was *created* to be inferior and subordinate, and who would therefore take care to keep him in a grade inferior to their own.

Things were going on in this prosperous condition, when the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church held its annual meeting lately at Memphis. At the meeting a year ago, a Committee had been appointed to consider and report on "The Relation of the Church to the Freedmen." Of course a report from this Committee was among the regular and expected business of the annual meeting just held. But, on inquiry, it appeared that the Committee had not taken the trouble to have any conference upon the subject at all, or even to come together for that purpose. And only three members of the Committee—not a quorum—were present at the meeting of the General Assembly just held. After extended debate, upon a paper and a series of resolutions read by Rev. Dr. Wilson, one of the Committee, apparently upon his individual responsibility, the whole subject was referred to a special committee, which subsequently reported a series of resolutions, among which are the following:

Resolved, That this Assembly entertains for the freed people the sincerest sentiments of good will and affection; that it earnestly desires and prays for their salvation, and would encourage the employment of every legitimate means for the promotion of their spiritual good; that this Assembly believes the present condition of the colored race in the country to be one of alarming spiritual jeopardy, and that it is binding on us, as Christians, to do all that lies in our power to save them from the calamities by which they are threatened, and to confer on them the rich blessings of the Gospel.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of the Assembly, it is highly inexpedient that there should be an ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races; that such a measure would threaten evil to both races, and especially to the colored, and that therefore it is desirable that every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connection with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old. Should they decline this fellowship of ordinances, and desire a separate organization, then our sessions are authorized to organize them into branch congregations. In such cases, the Assembly recommends that such congregations shall be allowed, under the sanction of the sessions, to elect from among themselves, every year, such number of superintendents or watchmen as the session may advise, who shall be charged with the oversight of such congregations. Their superintendents shall report to the sessions for their action all matters relating to the welfare of said congregations.

Resolved, Whenever Presbyteries may find it necessary to organize separate colored congregations, they shall appoint a commission of elders who shall discharge the functions committed to the sessions in the preceding resolution.

Resolved, That whilst nothing in our standards, or in the Word of God, prohibits the introduction into the Gospel ministry of only qualified persons of any race, yet difficulties arise in the general structure of society, and from providential causes, which may and should restrain the application in the Church of this abstract principle. Holding this in view, the Assembly recommends that wherever a session or Presbytery shall find a colored person who shall possess suitable qualifications, they are authorized to license him to labor as an exhorter among the colored people under the supervision of the body appointing him.

These resolutions show plainly enough, to the discerning eye, the stigma of inferior grade which the general assembly propose to put upon those freedmen or other colored people who belong to their churches. But the spirit which animated the Assembly, and which caused them to adopt these resolutions "without debate," was still more plainly expressed in the discussion which followed the reading of the first series of resolutions. The sentiments in question are distinctly expressed in the speeches of Rev. Mr. Grasty of Virginia, Rev. Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, and Rev. Dr. Baird of Virginia, condensed by the *Observer* from a full and accurate report in the Memphis *Commercial and Argus*, as follows:

Rev. Mr. Grasty, of Virginia, said he thought the matter should be sent down to the lower courts. The Presbyteries should not be left to act independently; but their action should be uniform, and that it may be so, the sense of the Assembly should be made known. The message that he would send down, would be this: that they give the freedmen, as they have always given them, access to the house of God, and that they invite them to bring forward their children for baptism. The opinion that we are all one is susceptible of very different constructions. What do we understand by equal? Does it mean that we shall invite the colored brother of the church into our own pews? Should he (the speaker) invite him into his pulpit? If so, when he has come out of the pulpit, should he be told that the kitchen is his place, while he (the speaker) retires to the parlor? The distinction between religious and social equality was a line of demarkation extremely difficult to draw, since the one which is sought for must bring ultimately about the other, which is repugnant. The whole argument of the other side is religious, knowing that social and ecclesiastical equality runs logically to miscegenation and the breaking down of every barrier between the two races. He would say to the freedmen, wait a little longer and we will make provision for you. Society is now throughout the land in a state of transition, and any legislation at this time would be precipitate. The public mind is not yet prepared for it, and if the matter is pressed now, the peace and unity of the Church must be disturbed.

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Rev. Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, felt that it is far more important that we should arrive at a wise decision than that we should come to an immediate conclusion. He therefore suggested that the whole subject should be remitted to the Presbyteries, with instructions to them to send up their opinions to the next General Assembly.

Dr. Baird said the objection he had to this suggestion and to the resolution is, that it does nothing. The Presbyteries are waiting to hear what we say; we propose to wait and hear what they say. The subject was postponed from last year. Shall we postpone it to next year? It is one of the most important of all the important questions that come before us. With Dr. Atkinson he held that there is neither bond nor free—that we are all one in Christ Jesus. But we are one—*in Christ Jesus*. The difficulty in the way of making them deacons and ministers, is not that they are colored men. It is that they are ignorant men. He was not in favor of any special plan in reference to these people; but he wanted some action taken at once. We stand in the position the reformers once stood. Extraordinary questions appeal to us for decision and they must be met. (Here the discussion was arrested by adjournment and resumed a day or two after, when Dr. Baird continued.)

Look at your five millions of whites. Now, what about their destitution? The same principles and same provisions must extend to both classes. The number of vacant churches and the amount of the destitutions is appalling. We ought to require the colored people to meet together, and our elders should lead them in their devotions. The evangelist must go abroad and organize churches among them. We ought to invite them to share the fellowship of our churches with us; but there is a fundamental difficulty in the way of giving the colored man equality in our ecclesiastical courts. Before he can be admitted to equality, *he must be acceptable to the Church*, not to a nook and corner, not to a *mere* handful of people, but to the Church. There is this difficulty arising from the structure of society, as God has organized it, to prevent a race so different from our own from being admitted to ecclesiastical equality. But we must license ministers among them—not ordain them, but license them, if they are able to exercise their gifts to edification. Under the right of exhortation, common to all Christians, you may license colored people to preach to colored people. But he would not put the right of jurisdiction in their hands, because of this insuperable obstacle in their way, they could not be acceptable to the whole Church. We should merely make local preachers of them, to exercise their gifts under supervision of church courts, as John Knox did. As to the churches, if they were organized into separate churches, he was not prepared to give them ordained officers of their own color. Such men could not be acceptable in our judicatures. But he would have separate organizations for them, if they prefer it, under a board of supervisors.

Very instructive is the clearness with which it is here shown that a colored man is not to derive much advantage from being "one in Christ Jesus" with a white man. The former does not thereby attain equal rights with the latter, even in the church; and out of the church, in all secular, social, civil and political relations, the mass of the white Presbyterians of the South intend that the negro shall remain "a nigger" as thoroughly as he was before. They are prevented (unfortunately as they think) from exercising individual ownership over him, and from counting himself and his wife and children among their property; they affect to consider this change of position as unfortunate for him, and they agree to it only on compulsion; they cannot rub out from their Bibles the phrase "one in Christ Jesus," so they allow it to operate to the extent of allowing the negro to "be saved" by the same machinery as themselves; to sit or stand in the rear of the church to hear the same sermon, and to receive "the Lord's supper" (!) *after they* have partaken of it; they concede also (on compulsion) such civil rights to the negro as the national law now ordains for him; but as for the admission of social or political rights, as for any voluntary recognition of "rights of man," as belonging to him, the mass of Southern Presbyterians are shocked at the idea, and determined to resist its realization. Their fellowship, their brotherhood with the negro is to be *only* "in Christ Jesus."

The *Observer* makes a show of being surprised and shocked at the action of the General Assembly. When the men whom it has always represented as the appropriate guardians and the best guardians of the negro say in the General Assembly just what they have always said by speech and action everywhere else, and just what everybody *knew* that they felt and thought—the *Observer* is surprised! But this affectation of surprise is, after all, the most plausible method of getting out of the tight place in which it finds itself—for it finds the interests of Presbyterianism in the United States seriously compromised by the appointment, by this General Assembly, of a Committee of three Southern divines to travel in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the continent of Europe, to set forth the condition of Southern Presbyterianism, and to gather pecuniary contributions "in aid of our general schemes of evangelization." The sagacious *Observer* sees how fatally this exposure, at this particular time, would react upon itself, and upon the great body of Presbyterians in this country. It feels obliged now to speak out. And it asks of this Committee—"Will they dare to tell the people of those countries that they have solemnly, in the name of God, voted that no black man shall be allowed to become a minister or a ruling elder within the limits or under the jurisdiction of the branch of the Church which they represent?"

It is a little awkward for the *Observer* that the members of this Committee fairly represent the very class in whose hands it has always wished to leave the control of the colored people, and that their present action is only an attempt to carry out the *purpose* which has always animated them, and in which they have always had the *power* to suppress, namely, to keep colored people down. But awkward accidents *will* happen.

It will be well for Abolitionists to keep in mind the names of this Committee of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and to watch their progress in their European tour. They are Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., Rev. B. M. Palmer, D.D., and Rev. J. L. Girardeau. It remains to be seen how much sympathy and material aid they will obtain in Europe, and whether more of these will come from representatives of her spite, her sectarianism, or her aristocracy. Her Christianity, of course, will make no contribution whatever to such a cause. The Committee will probably call first on Mr. Spence and other holders of Confederate bonds (who may possibly be disposed to shoot another arrow in the direction of the one they have lost, in the hope of finding both), and then upon Messrs. Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley and Tennyson.

I must remark, before closing, upon one noteworthy and instructive feature of the *Observer's* comments on the General Assembly. Its editor is surprised and shocked at their failure, in the present critical period in Southern affairs, to bring Southern Presbyterianism a little nearer to the requisitions of civilization and decency; but the evident determination of the Assembly to perpetuate and fortify *caste* by church ordinances, their determination to keep the negro "a nigger," and their quotation of holy writ for the express purpose of showing how very little kinship "in Christ" is to avail him in their church, does not in the slightest degree prevent this editor from addressing them as Christians, and assuming them *to be* Christians! If they were to worship God as existing in one person only, and not in three, they would lose the credit of being Christians; as they *only* persecute the poor, trample on the weak, take away the key of knowledge from the ignorant, and offer mingled injury and insult to the "little ones" for whom Christ bespoke especial tenderness and care—they still remain Christians—in the judgment of the *Observer*.

C. K. W.

THE THIRTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends,—the friends of the negro and of universal liberty,—that the thirty-third Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, Boston, on Thursday, January 24, 1868. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the Union, has been ratified, still the rights of the negro race are in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this Winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this Winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race,—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges,—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash*, in the hands of *irresponsible masters*. This stamps the system as essential slavery. The plan of reconstruction, urged by the Administration, leaves the black still a slave. The Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress are a deliberate desertion of the Negro and surrender him defenceless into the hands of his old masters. These Amendments break the National pledge to our black allies, and if accepted by the States would jeopard the safety of the Union and make Emancipation for many years to come a form. It is still, unfortunately, true that, with a few illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land, ballot, and education to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, and means of education in his reach, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral, from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists,—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise, or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions to R. P. Hallowell, Esq., No. 98 Federal street, Boston, Mass.

Lucretia Mott, Pennsylvania.
Mary Grew, Philadelphia.
Lydian Emerson, Concord, Mass.
Mary M. Brooks, " "
Sarah Shaw Russell, Boston, Mass.
Lydia D. Parker, " "
Charlotte L. Forten, " "
Eliza Apthorp, Cambridge, "
Mary E. Stearns, Medford, "
Elizabeth Gay, New York.
Mattie Griffith, "
Sallie Holley, "
Ann Greene Phillips, Boston, Mass.
Anna Shaw Greene, " "
Emeline T. Smith, " "
Adaline B. Hedworth, " "
Caroline C. Thayer, " "
Mary E. Sargent, " "
Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester, Mass.
Martha Le Barron Goddard, Worcester, Mass.
Anna D. Hallowell, Boston, "
Abby H. Stephenson, " "
Caroline M. Severance, Boston, "
Sarah Cowing, Weymouth, "
Jennie G. Greene, Milton, "
Hannah B. Spooner, Plymouth, "
Caroline R. Putnam, Salem, "
Sarah Bradford, Roxbury, "
Rebecca Bradford, " "
Sarah P. Remond, England.
Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass.
Margaret P. Snow, Fitchburg, "
Ruth Buffum, Lynn, "
Evelina E. Slack, Boston, "
Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island,
Anna Talbot Fairbanks, "
Armenia S. White, New Hampshire.

The Standard in Boston.—John J. Dyer & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for The Standard, and supply single copies to such as desire.

Letters for Susan B. Anthony should be addressed hereafter, Rochester, N. Y.

PENNSYLVANIA FESTIVAL OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society propose to hold a Festival of the friends of freedom, on Thursday, the 17th day of January, 1867, in National Hall, Market street, Philadelphia. It is designed to be a reunion of the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, who have labored together during the years of our Anti-Slavery struggle, and also to furnish an opportunity for social intercourse with many other friends of freedom whom recent events have enlisted in the cause of universal liberty.

Our Anti-Slavery Fairs (of pleasant memory) used to furnish an annual opportunity for such social intercourse and consecration relative to the great questions of the hour, which were highly enjoyed by us all, and were made, in many ways, most profitable to our cause. The Society under whose auspices they were held, believe that the true and brave souls who used to gather in those well-remembered saloons—sometimes exposed to the fury of mobs; sometimes, in later years, protected from that fury by the presence of police officers; and at last needing no other protection than an improved public sentiment—will once more rally at our call when we invite them to reassemble and exchange fraternal greetings, and recount the battles and the victories of the past, and commune one with another concerning the hopes of the future.

Besides the social attractions—music, stereoscopic exhibitions and refreshments will be provided for the occasion, and the presence of distinguished guests is expected.

The pecuniary profits will be faithfully used in efforts to create a public sentiment which will demand that the freedom of the legally-emancipated slave shall be completed and secured by his possession of the ballot.

The Festival will commence at a late hour of the afternoon (to be announced hereafter), and will continue during the evening. Contributions of refreshments are earnestly requested from our friends in the city and country. Coffee, tea, oysters, chicken-salad, ice-cream, fruit and cake, bread and butter, will be thankfully received. Donations of chickens and of cream from our friends in the country will be very acceptable.

We urge upon all our Anti-Slavery friends to aid the Committee of Arrangements by enlisting the co-operation of their friends and neighbors in the speedy sale of tickets and in the collection of donations to the Festival.

The price of admission will be Fifty Cents. No reduction for children.

Letters of inquiry or suggestion may be addressed to Miss Abby Kimber, No. 1022 Arch street, Philadelphia, from whom printed circulars and tickets may be obtained.

On behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

Mary Grew, Abby Kimber,
Ellen M. Child, Charlotte Pierce.

PERSONAL.

The Chicago *Journal* of the 18th inst. says: "Miss Anna Dickinson, who has been ill at Rockford, passed through this city yesterday, *en route* for her home at Philadelphia. She will not be able to resume her lecturing this Winter."

Hon. Thomas J. Durant, a distinguished member of the New Orleans Bar, and one of the ablest and truest of the proscribed Southern Loyalists, has opened an office for the practice of his profession in Washington, No. 348 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Frederick Douglass is announced to give the second lecture of the course instituted by the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania, on Thursday evening, January 3d, in National Hall, Philadelphia.

Judge Bond, of Baltimore, who was at the Capitol a few days since, is thus alluded to by the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*: "This patriotic jurist visited Washington this morning, and was warmly received by his friends in both Houses of Congress. The threat to remove him from the judicial post he so admirably fills, and the other threat of ordering a new election for Mayor in the city of Baltimore, freely circulated after the recent election, may be and is now seriously pressed in face of the fact that there are certain remedies which Congress may enforce, even in Maryland, for the protection of her loyal citizens."

Theodore Tilton is very cordially received at the West. His tour is an extended one, and has thus far been very successful. We find the following in the St. Louis *Democrat* of the 20th inst.:

One of the largest and choicest audiences ever assembled in St. Louis was last night, despite the storm, packed in Library Hall. The occasion was the second lecture of the series provided by the Public School Library Association. The attraction was Theodore Tilton, of New York, and his promised discussion of reconstruction. The association has wisely secured upon its list of lecturers eminent men of all parties and has imposed no conditions as to the matter or manner of the addresses. If the programme shall succeed, it will give us Alex. H. Stephens as well as Horace Greeley. The fact merits notice as the first thorough experiment of genuine free speech in a series of popular lectures in our city. The turn-out last night proved the plan to be the best that could have been adopted.

Partly through curiosity, perhaps partly in blissful ignorance of the precise quality of the lecture to be delivered, our Conservative and Democratic fellow-citizens were present in considerable numbers. The lecture was a masterly presentation of the necessity and duty of a Radical reconstruction on the basis of loyal and impartial suffrage Andrew Johnson, the Democratic party, and the Conservative politicians and policy, were handled with very great freedom, yet in the line of clear, courteous and impregnable argument, in which wit, pathos, and apt illustration played very effective parts. A more positive and unqualified Radical speech has not been made in St. Louis, and it commanded profound attention, and was throughout received with entire respect, and frequently brought down the house in rounds of applause. The logic of grand majorities seemed to have prepared our Conservative friends for a calmer hearing of the Radical gospel, than they were wont to give, and Mr. Tilton set it forth in all its force, purity and beauty. Though his theme admitted of little really novel, he invested it with perfect freshness and at moments with thrilling interest. No one could have been disappointed, while the most of his hearers were evidently delighted by the ability and eloquence with which he pleaded for political justice as the sole hope of a permanent Republic.

NOTES FROM ABROAD.

NO. V.

Paris, November 15th, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I wrote to you last from Switzerland, and in closing, I mentioned that my friend B. and myself were about to make an excursion of several days, and if possible ascend some other mountains. I will not at this late day intrude upon your space, or weary the patience of your readers, by any elaborate description of our adventures, but will merely speak of one or two things, which perhaps may be of interest.

We were fortunate enough to accomplish the ascension of three more mountains, and one of them, the "Schilthorn," a snow peak of the "Bernese Oberland." The ascent of this mountain (which is about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea), although attended with great fatigue, and some danger, on account of the snow, well repays the trouble. The view from the summit is truly magnificent. Range after range of mountains unfolds itself to the eye, and the view of snow peaks is very fine. Especially prominent is the "Jungfrau," the Queen of the "Bernese Oberland." Two American ladies made the ascent on the same day. Inasmuch as *only six* ladies have ever before accomplished the feat, they are entitled to a great deal of credit for their exertions. The guides who accompanied them, as also our own guide, doubted very much their ability to reach the summit, but they were not to be discouraged, and out of a party of six, they only finished the journey. Their names are Miss Walker of Philadelphia, and Miss Ellis, formerly of New York, but now resident in Paris.

In taking leave of Switzerland, I must give a passing notice to the little village of Interlaken, which is not visited as much as it should be, but which is certainly one of the most charming places to visit in all that beautiful country. Murren is called "the highest village in Europe, being situated at an elevation of about 5,000 feet or nearly the height of the "Rigi," near Lucerne. It is only reached by horseback or on foot, and the path up from Lauterbrunnen is quite steep, but once reached there is everything, in point of scenery and mountain air that one could possibly desire. To those persons who either have not the wish or the ability to climb mountains, it is especially to be recommended. There is a very comfortable hotel, and a promenade of nearly a mile in length on level ground. Walking from the hotel, along this path, upon the right, the whole of the way, and scarcely a stone's throw off, one has a view of the highest peaks of the "Bernese Oberland." The "Jungfrau," "Monch" and "Eiger" are so near that it seems only a walk of a few hours to reach them. Add to all this the glorious sunsets, which from this point are particularly beautiful, and you have a spot which, for health and rest, beauty and accessibility, cannot easily be surpassed. Finally, I would say of Switzerland, that it is a country of which no paintings, however beautiful, can give any idea; no books, however eloquently written, can adequately describe. All fall short of the original. That it is the most beautiful country of the world, all who have ever visited it must certainly admit.

In what marked and violent contrast to the above seemed Paris, when we returned to it on the 1st of October. The busy streets, with their rows of showy and extensive shops, the chattering of wagons and carts, the Champs Elysée, crowded with gaily dressed promenaders and all sorts of equipages, from the humble pony chaise to the dashing "four in hand," was a great change from the quiet villages and lonely roads of Switzerland. But great cities have their advantages as well as the country, and I suppose it is possible to tire of the latter, in the same way as we all are wearied of the turmoil of city life during the hot months of Summer.

Twenty, nay ten years ago, it was very necessary to have some knowledge of the French language, in order to visit Paris with any degree of pleasure or comfort; but now it is vastly changed. For the benefit of those who intend coming to the Exhibition, and who do *not* speak French at all, I will say that they need not despair of enjoyment. In almost every shop of respectable size, in the metropolis, is English spoken, and, in all of the larger ones, German as well. In all the hotels, in the cafés, and at the places of amusement, there are always numerous attendants who speak English. Again, for those who prefer the quiet of a boarding house to a noisy hotel, there are very many of the highest respectability, kept by English, and which are frequented *exclusively* by English and Americans. Again, all the railway trains are obliged to carry an interpreter, and on the arrival of trains from the seaboard, there are always persons in attendance to provide for the wants of the unfortunates *qui ne parlent pas français*.

The cause of all this is undoubtedly the vast multitude of English who are continually visiting Paris, and whose numbers are every year increasing. They, as well as the Americans, spend their money here very lavishly, and the trades-people find it for their advantage to learn to talk with them.

It is needless to say that it is *not* a waste of time to learn French, and it should be studied, if possible; but I have simply given the above facts for the benefit of those who have not the opportunity or the inclination to acquire the language.

The French people are becoming very impatient because the troops are not called home from Mexico. They consider that Maximilian has been assisted all that he deserves, and if his empire cannot stand now without the help of French bayonets, it should fall. It is to be hoped that the Emperor will accede to the public wish, which is every day becoming more urgent.

Workmen are constantly busy in all parts of Paris, tearing down old buildings and replacing them by handsome edifices, widening streets and constructing new boulevards. Near Notre Dame, a new hospital is in process of construction, which it is said will be the handsomest in the world, and from what is already finished, its statement is not exaggerated. A new opera house is also being built, which bids fair to rival any now existing. If Napoleon has accomplished nothing else, he has certainly done all in his power for Paris.

Everybody in this quarter of the globe is prophesying a general European war, which the Exhibition of 1867 will only delay for a few months. Some of the signs certainly point that way. It is not only the Emperor who is angry with Prussia. The whole French nation would go to war with that power at any time, if we are to judge from the tone of their journals and the expressions publicly used. The needle gun, if we may use the phrase, has awakened a jealousy which only war will appease. If Prussia and France ever commence hostilities, it is almost certain that the other Continental powers, or at least Austria and Italy will be drawn into the conflict. And that Italy would assist Prussia and Austria take the side of her ancient enemy, is also looked upon as a certainty. Whether England would continue her non-interference policy is a matter of doubt. However, the war has not yet come, and I am sure that all lovers of peace hope that it never will.

The Emperor has not yet returned to Paris. From Bianitz, where he spent several weeks, he has gone to St. Cloud, with, it is said, his health much improved.

On Monday, November 6th, the Imperial Guard, and the troops in garrison in Paris and at Versailles, were reviewed by the Emperor at Longchamps, in the Bois de Boulogne. A finer day could not have been desired, and there was just enough freshness in the air to make a ride or walk the most agreeable thing one could possibly do. The review was appointed for half past one, but long before that time, the Champs Elysée was filled with long lines of carriages, all making their way to the Bois, while thousands availed themselves of the day to walk to the place of rendezvous. Your correspondent was early on the ground, and spent the time before the review in watching the troops as they took up the positions assigned to them. The men were in splendid condition, and the burnished muskets of the infantry, and the gaudy trappings of the cavalry shone in the sun like silver. Certain officers, as is, I suppose, the case in all countries and at all reviews, from time to time, dashed backwards and forwards over the plain with no perceptible object in view, except to display their horsemanship and the speed of their chargers. These equestrian performances continued until the commencement of the review, to the mingled amusement and admiration of the spectators. There were 22,000 troops in line, consisting of 16,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and the rest artillery. Among the infantry, the Algerian Zouaves were particularly conspicuous, with their pretty blue uniforms, red sashes and white turbans, and the Lancers were the finest body of cavalry I have ever seen.

At exactly half past one, the Emperor, accompanied by the Empress and Prince Imperial, and escorted by a brilliant staff, rode down the line. His Majesty was mounted on a splendid chestnut-colored horse and dressed in the full uniform of his rank. On his right rode the Empress, in plain riding costume, and on his left the "little Prince" in the uniform of a corporal of the Imperial Guard. As the Emperor rode slowly by his troops the most enthusiastic cheers rent the air. At every point where a near view of His Majesty was to be obtained, the people pressed close on to the mounted gendarmes, who kept the plain clear, and testified their delight in every possible manner. The troops afterwards defiled before the Imperial stand amid the heartiest cheering. The whole affair must have been exceedingly gratifying to the Emperor, showing, as it undoubtedly did, how popular he is among his subjects. The soldiers were forgotten; every eye was for Napoleon III., and since such gloomy reports had been circulated respecting his health, everybody who could possibly go to the Bois on that afternoon, did so, in order to see for themselves, how much truth there was in such reports. Little business was transacted at the Bourse, the "agents de change" being as anxious as the rest to judge for themselves of His Majesty's looks. All evidently were satisfied, for the Emperor looked in *excellent* health, and sat his horse with grace and ease.

The Imperial party returned to St. Cloud in a barouche, and for a long part of the way were followed by a crowd of workmen, conspicuous in their blue blouses, who threw up their caps, cheering and shouting "Vive L'Empereur!" in a manner which left no doubt of *their* loyalty. Thus ended the review, in every respect a complete success.

The work on the Exposition building is rapidly pro-

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greasing. Thousands of workmen are unceasingly employed, night and day; nor does Sunday bring any rest. The English commission have taken formal possession of that portion allotted to England, and the British flag waves over it. In a future letter, I will give you a more detailed account of the building. Until then, I remain, as ever,

Very truly yours, E. Q. F.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, December 25th, 1866.

The heavens smile upon us this Christmas day, the sun being brilliant, the air pure and clear, and the temperature resembling September rather than the end of December. Our streets to-day present spectacles resembling, I fancy, those seen on a fine Sunday in Paris. The churches are open for those who choose to go, and a godd many do choose it. Another set of people pursue their traffic, or other daily business; and a still larger number are in the streets, either taking quiet recreation there, or on their way to it elsewhere. All is in active movement, and all faces reflect the cheerfulness of the much-prized festival. The Catholic and Episcopal churches get a large attendance, the former being densely crowded, although great numbers of the kinsfolk of those who attend them and country folk are in the streets and elsewhere in pursuit of pleasure, and many of their girls and women are kept away from both these indulgences to cook hot viands for the dinner tables of heretics.

In the Church of the Immaculate Conception, founded and directed by the Jesuits, the largest and handomest church in Boston—the vast assembly and the brilliant lighting of the high altar made a magnificent spectacle. A grand mass by Hummel was performed, in which a fine orchestra assisted the always admirable strains of the choir and the organ. Some outsiders probably went expressly and solely to hear this delicious music, but the great bulk of the congregation seemed devoutly intent on their prayers; meanwhile, however, the inferior church officials, mindful of the secular duty of making hay while the sun shines, were collecting a fee of ten cents from those persons (whether true believers or heretics) who, without having a subscriber's right, wished a seat on this occasion.

At the Church of the Advent, which is still called Protestant, though seeming to many to approach fearfully near the boundary line, and to have the faces of its clergy and surpliced acolytes set decidedly towards Rome, the sermon which followed the service was of that "aggressive" character which has been tried there for some time past as a means of filling their meagre ranks, as yet without much success. The various sects and persons who deny that doctrine of "the Church" which the Reverend Rector undertook to defend were declared to have committed a crime of the gravest character, and to have incurred the highest conceivable guilt. Thus men would bind each other, while God leaves all free.

The Fraternity lecture given here last week, by Frederick Douglass, was able and eloquent in the main, though some portions on which he laid chief stress, seemed not to have been well considered. For instance, he seemed to assume that every Vice-President of the United States must be constantly tempted to assassinate his principal, thus to obtain the chief office; and for this and other reasons, he would have the Vice-Presidency abolished. The best part of his lecture was its close, when, leaving his notes, he poured forth an extemporaneous vindication of the rights of the black man, demanded for him not only the ballot, but every right and every means of vindication which law undertakes to provide, and drew a thrilling picture of the meanness which would be shown by returning insult and ingratitude for such services as the Southern negroes rendered to the nation in the late war. Mr. Douglass maintained also that women are entitled to the ballot, alike by right, and by the Republican government here assumed to exist. A very large audience gave frequent applause to this lecture.

Gen. Butler was to have given a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association here this week, on the details of his plan for the impeachment of President Johnson. It is unfortunate that a sudden call of Gen. *Washington will require the postponement* of this lecture, since the audience in question is of a sort that particularly needs it. The plan of impeachment, however, seems gaining ground everywhere in this country, and some of the best English papers speak of it as alike feasible and desirable.

A new movement has just been made here in aid of the Temperance cause. I think I have mentioned to you that, for some reason, the State Constabulary have seemed to act, of late, against only the poorer classes of liquor-dealers. Complaint, however, has come from another quarter against some of the rich and powerful violators of law in this particular, and warrants were issued two or three days ago against the proprietors of the Tremont and Revere Houses, Young's Hotel and the Parker House, for maintaing liquor nuisances. Time must allow whether justice here is strong enough for the punishment of these chief offenders.

North.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1866.

There are some persons, though few in number, who almost uniformly refuse to contribute to popular objects of charity. It is not because such persons are ungenerous. It is not because the purposes for which aid is solicited are deemed unworthy of the needed support. They may commend themselves for genuine beneficence of purpose, and be meritorious without exception. But these persons enter the plea that popular charitable objects never fail to meet with ample favor. They always find patrons, always enlist advocates in plentiful numbers. They are cheered by the approving word, and befriended by the free offering cheerfully bestowed.

But there is another class of objects in the broad realm of charity that equally claim assistance. They need the benevolent care, the generous help and friendly recognition. But they are unpopular. They flourish slowly. Progress with them is tardy and prosperity languid. To these the few contribute the aid and bestow the gift which they deny to the more popular and better protected enterprise. To these they give, and their benevolence is no less real, their generosity far more commendable than that which spends itself on the things which the multitude patronise.

If you would make a charitable enterprise popular, establish it for the exclusive benefit of the white man. If you would make such an object unpopular, devote it to the sole advantage of the colored man. Institutions for the service of the one are numerous—for the other few. Ample attention is manifest in one case, and corresponding neglect in the other.

As an instance of this mindfulness on one hand and indifference on the other, witness the endeavors connected with the establishment of "School-Homes" for soldiers' orphans in this State. Generous appropriations have been made for this purpose, making a total sum of four hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. On the 30th of last June there were twenty-nine of those schools, distributed through sixteen counties of the State, containing eighteen hundred and thirty-seven orphans of white soldiers. The number has constantly increased since that time, and has probably doubled itself, or nearly so, at the present date. "But after careful inquiry, it does not appear that an orphan child of any one of the 1,488 colored soldiers who lost their lives in the service, out of 8,681 belonging, according to official records, to Pennsylvania, and enlisted at Camp William Penn, has yet found its way into any of these schools, or been provided for out of the above fund." I quote from the interesting and instructive pamphlet written by Benjamin P. Hunt, entitled, "Why Colored People in Philadelphia are excluded from the Street Cars," which was noticed by you in a former Standard. "You examine the act," says Mr. Hunt, "and find nothing there to exclude them from these privileges; you ask explanation of the school matrons, and are told that they never before heard the thing mentioned; and in reading the two annual reports of the Superintendent, Mr. Thomas H. Burrows, you find not a word implying knowledge of the fact that there was a single colored soldier enlisted in the State."

This condition of things is in entire accord with the usual display of partiality for the white man and disregard for the black man in dispensing benefits, even, as in this case, where the authorizing law recognizes no distinction, and aims to be impartial in its practical operation. But for the fact that a few, very few, humane persons, perceiving the palpable injustice thus done to the colored man, have given heed thereto with the view of correcting the wrong, it would still prevail undisturbed. It is an easy thing to rob colored people of their rights. White men are accustomed to this. But when an attempt is made to rectify the outrage and restore the rights so thoughtlessly, perchance wilfully, ignored, what hard work it is to create an interest in the measure, and to accomplish the desired result!

Recently, attention has been directed to the injustice above alluded to, and the signs encourage us to believe that proper action will follow. Meetings have been called for the purpose of investigating the matter, ascertaining what is needed, and devising some efficient plan whereby the colored soldiers' orphans may participate in the benefits of the School-Home fund. The Superintendent has ceased to manifest indifference, and shows an inclination to bestow his care and energy in this field of extended duties. The soldiers recruited at Camp William Penn were chiefly from the counties near Philadelphia, or not very remote, and the plan for securing educational advantages to the orphans of those who were lost in the war, will probably be to select a place from 15 to 30 miles from the city, on or near some rail-road, with proper buildings, and some 40 or 50 acres of land, as the site of a Colored Soldiers' Orphan School-Home. The Committee having the work in charge will appoint a suitable person to traverse the State in quest of those orphans, and reader such assistance as will be necessary towards gathering them together at the "School-Home." It is deemed absolutely essential that the person thus selected shall be in thorough sympathy with colored people, devoted to their welfare, and solicitous to promote their true interests. A Superintendent will also be chosen, as well as a Matron and the required teachers for the institution. It is to be hoped that full and gratifying success will attend these noble efforts, and that these poor orphans, thus brought together through a generous care, will be the recipients of lasting and precious benefits. It is not yet accurately known how many of them there are scattered throughout the State; but already the list in Mr. Hunt's possession numbers eighty-five.

The car question has assumed no new aspect. Prejudice and injustice continue to have the ascendency. They control. The few friends of the colored people, or such as as are desirous that the shameful encroachment on their rights shall cease, still strive to effect a removal of this car exclusion, but hope, itself, seems to have abandoned their endeavors. The clergymen have not yet had their hearts opened in reference to the cruel inhumanity and long-continued sin. Their lips remain sealed. Popularity is on the side of the oppressor—not with the victim. This makes a strong tide to the storm. With very few exceptions, the newspapers maintain an eloquent reserve. Now and then may be noticed a meteoric display of indignation; but there is no bold, earnest, manly hostility and aggression. Moral courage is not lucrative. Put a distinguished name into sympathy with a cause, and how exceedingly bold some of these newspapers suddenly become in its espousal. Here is an illustration. When this injustice to the colored orphans, mentioned above, was brought to the notice of Gov. Curtin, he expressed surprise, and manifested an interest with those who were aiming to correct the injury. One of our newspaper editors hearing of the circumstance, although as inert as a cabbage before this concerning the matter, straightway flew to his desk, grasped his vigorous pen, and gave the subject the benefit of one of his choicest efforts. Such is a specimen of the flunkeyism of some of our scribes. Appeal was powerless; but a new and important association acted like an electrical machine, which excites the pith ball into motion.

Recently a case of car expulsion was before Court for trial. It was of similar nature to others that had from time to time preceded it—a rude conductor acting according to fixed instructions from the very Christian-like company, having forcibly resisted a colored man who attempted to enter the car, and ejecting him therefrom. In this case the decision was given, as in one immediately preceding it, against the injured man. It is intended to have the matter go to the Supreme Court for final adjudication. But it seems as though nothing short of direct and special legislative enactment will terminate this barbarous treatment. Christianity here is not sufficiently exalted to ob[illegible] justice through the force of an active moral sentiment.

At a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society held last week, it was concluded to hold the festival adverted to in my last letter. A numerous committee was selected to effect the proper arrangements, develop the project, and make exertion in any manner that may conduce to the highest success, the felicity and *eclat* of the worthy enterprise. A joyous occasion may be anticipated—a banquet of rare good cheer and manifold delight.

John W. Forney declines to be a candidate for the Senatorship in the place of Cowan, whose term will expire on the fourth of March. Mr. Forney advocates the election of Thaddeus Stevens. Thaddeus is an old man, and may not survive the official term. His disappearance from the scene would create a premature vacancy, and the vision of other aspirants must discern here a new chance to win the prize, and a fresh incentive to their everlasting hope. Do such things ever occur to the minds of politicians?

Through this correspondence the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society desire to say to the Members and friends thereof, that they are greatly encouraged by the increased interest shown at the late State meeting, by the various donations and pledges, and by the more than usual number of persons who are giving of their substance to the Society, and who are subscribing to its organ, the National Anti-Slavery Standard. The Committee are conducting the affairs of the Society with all possible economy. They pay no rent for their office, and the room wherein they hold their stated meetings, is likewise free for their use. They aim to promote in the best way the objects of the Society, laboring voluntarily in this behalf, and prosecuting their work with sparing outlay.

W.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, December 22, 1866.

The holidays are upon us, and the Capitol has a comparatively bare and deserted look, Congress having ingloriously turned its back upon the half-score of vital national problems which pressingly await its consideration and action, in order to unreservedly enjoy the society of relatives and friends during this joyous season. In ordinary times there might be some excuse for taking this vacation; but this unmanly postponement of the public business in the midst of such an imminent crisis in our political and financial affairs appears to me both cowardly and criminal. There are great business interests of the nation, which are being seriously crippled for want of adequate Congressional remedies, and others which are rapidly being blotted out of existence, while our legislators are enjoying the festivities of Christmas and New Year's. Our loyal brethren of the South are imploring for relief from the wrongs and outrages without number inflicted upon them, day by day, by the pardoned but still vindictive rebels, who imitate the policy of their master at the White House; but their appeals are disregarded, for how can Congress forego its usual holiday vacation? Nero fiddled while Rome was burning: shall not grave and reverend Senators and able and influential Representatives dance and make merry for a fortnight while the nation is in the very agony of mortal strife for deliverance from foes more cunning and deadly than those who sought to destroy it by open warfare these six years past?

There is a large body of Congressmen, if not a majority, in either House, who would, to-day, surrender to the South if their Legislatures would adopt the Amendments and make a few trifling concessions in their local legislation for the sake of appearances. It is known that assurances have been given to leading South Carolina rebels by influential Republican Congressmen, that the present State government should be recognized and its loyal (!) Senators and Representatives admitted, upon the adoption of the Amendments. But, thank God, the spirit that actuated Pharaoh and the Egyptians of old "still lives" in the South, and will preserve us from the calamity that truckling and weak-kneed Republicans would inflict on us. I have repeatedly assured you that the Southern rebels would spurn these Amendments, virtual betrayal of the North though they are. Here is the answer of South Carolina to the "assurances" of the aforesaid Republican Congressmen, which I find in a dispatch dated Charleston, December 20, as follows: "The Constitutional Amendment was rejected yesterday by the House, 98 nays to 1 yea." I wish I could give you a correct list—"a roll of honor"—of the Congressmen who gave the "assurances" thus contemptuously answered by the Palmetto State. It ought to be published for the information of the people.

The Thirty-ninth Congress will make plenty of Buncombe speeches adopt numerous high-sounding resolves tinker up plans and projects to get the control of the vast government patronage out of the President's hands into their own, and authorize committees of investigation to go on excursions to various parts of the country; but as for any practical legislation which shall undo the calamitous work of the White House traitor, and restore the Union upon the only basis worthy of the tremendous sacrifices which have been made for that end, you need not look for it from this body. I am now convinced that, after all its brave talk, Congress means to *do* nothing, or next to nothing, and let the nation drift helplessly and hopelessly into the maelstrom of anarchy which yawns before us, in the absence of practical, courageous, comprehensive statesmanship. O for a Phillips, or a Butler, with power to lead the well-meaning but halting, hesitating, half-in-earnest majority in the paths which lead to solid, enduring peace, because founded on eternal Justice! The truth is, there is but one man in either House who ever possessed ability, united with the tact and personal qualities necessary, to make a statesman and a great leader in a crisis like this, and he is now past the age to do the work of which there is such pressing need. I mean Thaddeus Stevens. He is still capable of saying things which cause the reporters to sprinkle their reports of the House proceedings with the word "laughter" enclosed in brackets, and omits no opportunity to get in a good "dig" at President Johnson, but age tells upon his effective powers as plainly as it has done upon Mr. Seward's, and he has lost the power, if not the purpose, to lead the House to do the work its constituents demand to be done boldly and promptly.

Of the ninety and nine propositions made in the two Houses to deprive the President, somehow, of the appointing power, not one will be likely to take the shape of a legal enactment.

Nebraska and Colorado will probably remain Territories until they remove the word "white" from their Constitutions—for which we owe thanks, mainly to Messrs. Sumner of Massachusetts, and Brown of Missouri.

We have already had an exhibition in this negro-hating community of the potency of the ballot even in the hands of the despised race but lately considered as marketable animals. You remember that, in a recent letter, I mentioned the fact that Mayor Wallack, who is the true type of all that is corrupt, reactionary, mean and contemptible in our local politics, acting for the city, had, month after month, and year after year, refused, upon the most discreditable legal quibbles, to pay to the Congressional Trustees, appointed for that purpose, the portion of the school fund provided by Congress for the separate maintenance of schools for colored children, for whom the city repeatedly refused to make any provision whatever. Congress has again and again directly legislated upon the matter, to remedy this shameless swindle, but to no purpose. Last Thursday, however, the Senate conferred the ballot upon the negroes and the House completed the work on Friday. Mark the result. At their very next meeting, on the Monday evening following, the Board of Aldermen passed a resolution "authorizing the Mayor to pay to the colored schools the balance due by act of Congress," this amounting to nearly $10,000. To be sure, this is only half justice, the real sum due being about $20,000. But it is a great triumph to have the Washington authorities *voluntarily* agree to acknowledge that *anything* was due to the colored schools! I "reckon," as the saying is here, that before the next municipal election, or soon after, at the furthest, the city authorities will "authorize the Mayor" to pay the other $10,000 due. If I were in the habit of betting, I would wager a small amount that the very men who now express themselves as horrified at the idea of voting in company with "niggers" will be as ready next Summer to vote for a negro as their copperhead brethren were in Boston, the other day, if they thought they could outnumber the "radicals" by so doing.

I have had considerable conversation with intelligent colored men in this city, who profess to be thoroughly *conversant with the moral and intellectual status* of their race in the late slave States, and who assert it as their firm conviction that the old slaveholding aristocracy will eventually control three-fourths of the votes of the freedmen, when they are enfranchised. They reason that, the negro has no hatreds and prejudices of race, notwithstanding generations of most brutal and galling bondage, which has transformed the Irish into a nation of fierce and undying haters. The negro is forgiving, and forgetting—forgives and forgets his wrongs, but remembers even the most trifling kindness. A few cheap kindnesses and apparent condescensions will make him the contented servant and ever reliable constituent of his old master. This view desives its greatest force from a certain amount of truth contained in its premises, as well as from the source whence it emanates. But I believe that the whole history of the race, from the hour that the guns of Sumter flashed the first light on their path to freedom, disproves the broad conclusions above stated. I think the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau will almost unanimously assert the contrary view. Of course, where there are old slaveholders who have conformed readily to the altered condition of affairs; who treat the negroes as human beings, and evince a real and sincere interest in their welfare and improvement as free laborers, they will be able to exercise a powerful influence over the suffrages of their laborers. So they would in Massachusetts, or anywhere else, among white men. The operatives in the Lowell mills generally vote in harmony with the political interests and wishes of the manufacturers, but when it comes to a direct collision of interests they will vote against them, as Gen. Butler can so well testify. I refer to the "Ten Hour question," once so exciting a topic in the City of Spindles. Gen. Reagon, late "Confederate Postmaster General," and Gen. Pillow, of Tennessee, both of whom are said to be solving the problem of reconstruction upon general New England principles, may be able to influence the votes of the freedmen they employ, and if they should do it, to the defeat of some mouthing Republican demagogue, whose votes would belie his professions, what harm would be done? If there are men, whether late rebels or imported Northerners, in the South who desire to gain political power by restoring the shattered fortunes and waste places of that region by employing and paying the freedmen fair remuneration for their labor, coupled with the advantages of the school-house and the church, let us bid them God-speed. Be they Democrats or Republicans, it is all the same. Men who gain power in *that* way will never be dangerous to the peace and liberties of the nation. One such Southern convert is worth two importations from the North. And I do not for one moment believe any others are going to obtain or keep the votes of the freedmen.

Observer.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

Washington, December 19, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Congress is now moving forward with the business of the session. Its progress is, however, slow, and I am afraid not very sure in the right direction. There is a spirit of weakness pervading many of the Republican members that augurs ill for the usefulness of their legislation this session. I am inclined to the opinion that little, except the passage of the District Suffrage bill, will be done that can command the unqualified approval of the true friends of freedom.

In the Senate the question of woman suffrage received a very respectful consideration. Hon. B. Gratz Brown delivered a most convincing speech in favor of conferring suffrage upon all classes of citizens, without distinction of race, color or sex. Nine Senators voted for the proposition. Senator Fowler would have voted for it had he been present at the time, and Senator Wilson announces himself favorable to that measure. Were it not for the fear of endangering the carrying the bill over the President's veto, sixteen Senators would have been secured for the Cowan amendment. The friends of equal rights have cause to be proud of their first grand fight in the American Senate. They will, by hard and earnest effort, carry their measures in 1868.

The Republican members, many of them, are almost as destitute of backbone this session as they were in the last. They claim that the people at the late election decided in favor of the Constitutional Amendment as a finality, and it will never answer to impose other and more radical terms as a condition precedent to the admission of the rebellious States. I am inclined to believe, however, that most of the members will, ere the close of the session, see the necessity of organizing new governments based upon universal suffrage for the non-represented States. The fear of losing the election in 1868 will influence them in the right direction. They begin to realize that the earnest freedom-loving men of the nation are determined to be trifled with no longer.

I will write you in a day or two, and give you a general history of matters and things in the capital. M.

CIRCULAR.

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

The Managers of the Washington, D. C., Freedmen's Association make the following appeal, which we hope may be liberally responded to:

As the chilling storms of Autumn and the snows of Winter approach, the sufferings and wants of the destitute freed people of this city and District are again forced upon our attention, and with grateful appreciation of the gifts and sacrifices you have made, we most earnestly appeal to you for continued co-operation and contributions in their behalf during the coming Winter.

Through the Summer we have labored without cessation to find homes and compensating labor for the dependent, unemployed, able-bodied men and women, with a view to their elevation as well as physical relief; and, notwithstanding their educated prejudice against the North, and fear of a cold climate, have persuaded over two thousand since April, 1866, to accept situations in the East, North and West, by which transfer, the government and public charity are relieved of further expense on their account, and they are no longer consumers, but producers in the Industrial Department of the country. There is reason to hope that from the good reports of those who have gone, as well as the continued pressing applications for their services, great numbers more will go when the Winter is over and warm weather returns. But as these have gone, others as poor have come—women and children, dressed in their faded linsey, with neither bonnet nor shoes, and men in rags, coming from their farms, where they have worked and have not received their pay; so that although a few thousand have gone, a great number of destitute, old, crippled and sickly and women with young children, must remain—the old while they live, and the young till old enough to labor—in this District. The old are older and more infirm, and the poor, poorer than last year; and the same provisions for their wants, and in no less quantity than before, are absolutely needed.

Let the cities, towns and villages organize for work, let the Churches and Sabbath Schools, and Public Schools that last year so generously sustained the National Freedmen's Relief Association, in their care of the poor and needy here, take up their annual contributions, and send in their clothing, cloth, bedding and provisions for the suffering, who have no means for self-support, remembering the sorrowful incidents of shivering women and children in open and leaky shanties, compelled to burn their bedsteads and chairs, in the cold hours of midnight, or with embers of bones or saw-dust, to prevent their little ones from freezing to death; and of old men and women, whose life-long labor had been given to warm and clothe and feed, and build houses for the enemies of human freedom, and now, though emancipated, they were cold, and naked, and hungry, and had "not where to lay their heads," for emancipation came too late for them!

Think also of the widows and orphans, whose protection and support was sacrificed to save the nation's life! whose sufferings and miseries have been brought to your notice again and again; and above all consider that these scenes of suffering are to be re-enacted with their untold agonies in the coming Winter, unless speedy and earnest efforts are put forth by the friends of humanity in their behalf.

Clothing of all kinds, provision, bedding, and blankets, and money, are needed for relief immediately. Garments made of flannel or of substantial fabric, are most economical as well as comfortable. Coarse yarn stockings and heavy shoes of all sizes are an important want. Manufacturers of each of these articles are solicited to send us liberal donations, as many are destitute of both. Second-hand and out-grown children's garments, repaired and transformed according to instructions from our agent last year—which were so thoroughly adopted *by our lady contributors—will be greatly needed and* thankfully received.

The treasury of the Association has been exhausted in the clothing and incidental expenses of those we have assisted to homes, and we therefore urge the necessity of contributions in money, and trust that not only our old friends, but those who dispense charities either their own or from legacies entrusted to them for distribution to the poor, will respond to this call.

We respectfully solicit attention to this appeal in all the Northern States, whose interests are alike involved in this work of humanity at the National Capital, and trust that all will be willing to make liberal contributions.

Boxes and barrels should be marked with the name and place from whence they came, and directed to Mrs. J. S. Griffing, 394 North Capitol, st. Washington D. C. Inventories of new clothing, especially should be enclosed in the box or barrel.

Goods of all kinds may be forwarded through Rev. H. G. Stewart, agent of Rhode Island Association for Freedmen, 78 Weybossett st., Providence, or the Am. Missionary Association, 53 John st, New York, or the National Freedmen's Union Commission, 76 John st., New York, from the East, and from any of the associations for freedmen's relief in the Middle or Western States—being clearly marked as above directed. Moneys should be sent to George E. Baker, Treasurer of the Association, State Department, Washington, D. C.

We have delayed this appeal too long, hoping the demand could be met in some other way than by again taxing the purse and patience of those whose "charity never faileth." But it is now certain that these poorest of God's poor must suffer and perish without this assistance, which we ask of you without delay.

Sayles J. Bowen, President.

George E. Baker, Treasurer.

CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

Bureau National Equal Rights League, Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 11th, 1866.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE, AND A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

To the Colored Men of the Country:

The hour has come when we should speak. Our friends, as well as our enemies, are expecting us to make known our wants in our own words. In the days of our slavery, our cause was presented and advocated in the breathing and burning words of those noble and true men who were not ashamed to be called *Abolitionists*. But, in the Providence of God, a propitious hour has come to us, and *now* we may plead our own cause, without molestation or fear.

On the 10th day of January, 1867, the National Equal Rights League will hold its second Annual Meeting, as already announced, in Washington City, D. C. All subordinate Leagues are to be represented in that meeting. We will have, therefore, delegates in attendance from nearly all the States of the Union; for, in almost all of the States, we have State organizations auxiliary to our National League.

It has been thought advisable to make this meeting of the League more than a meeting simply of this organization. It has been suggested, and the Executive Board of the League has thought it wise to accept the suggestion, that we make this meeting a *national gathering* of all the friends of political and legal equality. We, therefore, invite all friends of Equal Rights, in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, to come together, by their delegates, at the Capital of our nation, on the 10th day of next January, at 10 o'clock a.m., in connection with the National Equal Rights League, and before our great nation, and in the presence of her representatives, with wisdom and moderation, yet with earnestness and courage, make known our grievances and our wants, as American citizens.

It need not be urged that it is especially our duty, at this time, to make a national announcement of our desires and purposes. The nation is on the eve of adopting an Amendment to the Constitution which is to settle our legal and political status. We owe it to ourselves, our posterity, and our countrymen, to announce our views and sentiments on this and kindred topics. That this may be done, in a wise and effective manner, we earnestly and particularly urge our ablest and most distinguished men to attend the meeting and give us the advantage of their counsel and kind co-operation.

By order of the Executive Board of the National Equal Rights League,

John M. Langston, President.

St. George R. Taylor, Octavius V. Catto, Secretaries.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

The reconstruction of our National Union is a broader, deeper work than the restoration of the rebel States. It is the lifting of the entire nation into the practical realization of our Republican idea.

All persons who feel that, for the permanent settlement and security of this country, the Constitution and laws thereof must be founded on Equal Rights and absolute justice, irrespective of color or sex, are invited to meet in Convention, in Philadelphia, on Thursday, January 17th, 1867, at 10 o'clock a.m., in the Franklin Institute, Seventh street, above Chestnut. Able speakers from abroad are expected to be present.

Lucretia Mott,	Ellen M. Child,
Robert Purvis,	Mary Grew.
Sarah Pugh,	Alfred H. Love,

Committee of Arrangement.

Communications and contributions in aid of the work may be sent to either one of the Committee, No. 212 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

December 13, 1866.

PEACE CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Pennsylvania Peace Society will be held in the Franklin Institute, Seventh street, above Chestnut, Philadelphia, First Month (Jan.) 18th, 1867, at 3½ and 7½ o'clock p. m.

All persons, irrespective of religious or political belief, condition, sex, or color, are invited to these meetings, in earnest vindication of those great rights and truths, and that uncompromising justice, virtue, and morality which, through love to God and love to man, comprehend and subserve the cause of pure and perfect Peace; and, as an essential means to an end, endeavor—by every moral principle and power—to correct and dethrone those false opinions and practices of anger, hatred, revenge, selfishness, and the like, which of necessity engender contention and culminate in War.

Important propositions will be presented, and able speakers from various parts of the country have been invited to aid in their consideration.

Those who wish to be considered members, will please send their names and address to any of the following officers of the Society:

George W. Taylor, President, Philadelphia.
Alfred B. Justice, Secretary, "
Henry T. Child, M.D., Treasurer, "

Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia,
Lucretia Mott, "
James Mott, "
Henry M. Laing, "
Joseph M. Truman, Jr., "
Rebecca T. Magill, New Hope, Pa,
Rev. C. W. Thompson, York, Pa,
William J. Mullen, Philadelphia,
Frances Parker, "
T. Ellwood Chapman, "

Executive Committee.

Business Changes in the Metropolis.—This city of commercial pursuits is constantly undergoing changes, and men of enterprise are gradually rising to positions in the business world that a few years since would have been thought unattainable, and not a few have earned a reputation which of itself is a fortune. Strangers as well as citizens mark the rapid growing enterprise now manifested above Canal street, which a few years since extended far below this point.

The great channel of trade is necessarily wending its way with the masses, consequently the up-town resorts are filled to their utmost capacity. Among the most conspicuous of these is that of Taylor's Saloon, No. 555 Broadway.

Having been long and favorably known to the community, this resort ranks as one of the first in New York. The old and well-established saloon at the corner of Broadway and Franklin street, now being converted into a place of mercantile business, was a favorite with the public. Still, Mr. Taylor has not left his patrons without a resort, and the palatial saloon extending through from Broadway to Mercer street, at No. 555, has been refitted in gorgeous style, richly gilded, frescoed, and adorned with heavy plate mirrors, that would honor a millionaire's residence. Daily it is thronged with *those who appreciate the efforts of the* proprietor in furnishing viands suited to the tastes of so numerous a class of epicures. In fact, it is now *the leading saloon on Broadway*, and with its corps of attentive waiters and its numerous attractions cannot fail to meet with the continued patronage that has made the name of Taylor a household word.—*Methodist.*

American Anti-Slavery Society.

Collections for the American Anti-Slavery Society by Sallie Holley.

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OLIVER DITSON & CO., Publishers, 277 Washington street, Boston.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH

FOR JANUARY, 1867.

This number of the Herald of Health is, we think, one of the best issued. The New York *Tribune* says: "This magazine deserves a kindly welcome as an efficient aid to the progress of popular education." The January number, among fifty other articles, contains one from Henry Ward Beecher, on the importance of selecting healthy companions for husbands and wives if we would rear healthy children; also, a lecture by L. N. Fowler, as readable as any novel, on "How to Train Up a Child."

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This would be a Christmas or New Year's present to a lady, clergyman or other friend honorable to the giver as well as the receiver—the memory of which would be renewed 52 times in the year.

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Miscellaneous Department.

BARBARA FRIETCHIE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,

The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of Maryland,

Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited deep,

Fair as a garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde.

On that pleasant morn of the early Fall
When Lee marched over the mountain wall—

Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot into Frederick town—

Forty flags with their silver stars,
Forty flags with their crimson bars,

Flapped in the morning wind: the sun
Of noon look down, and saw not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then,
Bowed with her four score years and ten;

Bravest of all in Frederick town,
She took up the flag the men had hauled down;

In her attic window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.

Up the street came the rebel tread,
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat left and right
He glanced; the old flag met his sight.

"Halt!"—the dust-brown ranks stood fast,
"Fire!"—out blazed the rifle blast.

It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.

Quick, as it fell, from the broken staff,
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf;

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.

"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader there came;

The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word:

"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.

All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet:

All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;

And through the hill-gaps sunset light
Shone over it with a warm good night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the Rebel rides on his raids no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave,
Flag of Freedom and Union, wave;

Peace and order and beauty draw
Round thy symbol of light and law;

And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below in Frederick town!

AN EXTRAORDINARY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT—A CURIOUS STATEMENT.

THE following remarkable account of a new Irish Member of Parliament appeared recently in the Dublin correspondence of the London *Times:*

"As the gentleman who has just been elected one of the Parliamentary Representatives of Wexford County, is the most remarkable man who has ever occupied a seat in the House of Commons, it may be interesting to your readers to know something of Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh. I use no exaggerated phrase when I describe him as not merely the 'most remarkable,' but, I might truthfully say, the most extraordinary gentleman who has, during the present century at least, entered Parliament. With his political proclivities and his religious predispositions I do not intend to occupy your space, or your readers' attention. That he is a Tory of the most constitutional hue, you and they are of course aware; and, notwithstanding that his Protestantism is of the severest class, Mr. Kavanagh is extremely popular, and by his numerous and prosperous tenantry is beloved and sincerely respected; for he admits, in the administration of his large estates in Wexford, Kilkenny, and Carlow, that 'property has its duties as well as its rights.' The honorable gentleman, I understand, claims descent from the great MacMurrough, who, in the person of Eva MacMurrough, the wife of Strongbow, first coalesced with the 'proud invader,' and sought to establish that union and amalgamation of the two races which still engrosses the studious attention of British statesmen. Mr. Kavanagh has neither legs nor arms. He was born in this unfinished fashion, and in place of legs, he has about six inches of muscular thigh-stumps, one being about an inch shorter than its fellow—while his arms are dwarfed to perhaps four inches of the upper portion of these members, and those are unfurnished with any terminations approaching in the remotest degree to the form of hands. Yet your readers will be surprised to hear that he is a beautiful caligraphist, a dashing huntsman, an artistic draftsman, an unerring shot, and the most expert of yachtsmen—a combination of accomplishments, under the circumstances of his corporal imperfections, that is certainly astonishing.

"In face and bust Mr. Kavanagh is of a manly, handsome mould; fine, well-marked features, and eyes beaming with intelligence, leaving no doubt that, though the body has been unfortunately shorn of its fair and legitimate proportions, the mind is full, capacious and well-developed. He is now about forty years of age, and a large family of as handsome children as could be found in this teeming and prolific country, has blessed his union with a lady as remarkable for her beauty as she is beloved for her amiability and consideration. Endowed with a healthy mind, Mr. Kavanagh has not permitted his physical afflictions to mar, curb or control the development of those faculties to which, as if by way of compensation, Providence has vouchsafed to impart extraordinary power, energy and acuteness. His literary taste he has gratified in the fullest extent; and the *Cruise of the Eva*, published a short time since, testifies that he is a writer graceful, vivacious and observant. The book, which is most certain evidence of an ability far away above mediocrity, was illustrated by sketches taken by himself during his cruise. His mode of writing is simple, but must have been attended with great trouble before he attained the proficiency which he unquestionably has. He holds the pen or pencil in his mouth and guides its course by the arm-stumps, which are sufficiently long to meet across the chest; and thus he produces a handwriting, each letter of which is distinctly formed, and all without any peculiarity, or what is called 'character.' When hunting, he sits in a kind of saddle-basket, and his reins are managed with an expertness and an ease that are surprising; but, perhaps, the greatest of his achievements is driving a 'four-in-hand.' This he does to perfection, and as his team scampers away at a dashing pace, the sharp crack of his whip may be heard far off.

"Thus, I think, I have stated enough to establish the right of the 'model county' of Ireland to claim the distinction of having sent to Parliament the most extraordinary man that has obtained a seat in the Commons of the United Kingdom during at least the present century. In his case the House will have to grant some indulgences. As his locomotion is effected by his attendant carrying him, some other than an 'honorable member' must be admitted 'within the bar' whenever Mr. Kavanagh takes his seat; for, I opine, the gallant Conservative whipper-in (Col. Taylor) would not wish, however anxious he might be for a 'House,' *thus* to testify his anxiety to assist his party and carry it safely through. Then, how is the honorable member for Wexford to record his vote? In his drawing-room he contrives, hedgehog-like, to roll from place to place. This, I fancy, would not be practicable in the House; and, as 'strangers' cannot be admitted on such sacred occasions, I fear Col. Taylor will have to add the duty of 'locomotive, to those onerous ones which, even with more gifted members, he oftentimes finds it difficult to discharge. Again, when Mr. Kavanagh succeeds in that very delicate and important oculistic operation of 'catching the Speaker's eye,' will he be privileged to address Her Majesty's faithful Commons sitting? for should he stand, he will be invisible; or perhaps, he will be allowed to stand upon his seat and thus obtain an eminence and a commanding position.

"The energy of the man may be gathered from the fact that some twenty years ago he travelled in Russia and Asia with his private tutor and a single servant, penetrating into Bokhara, and living for months in places where it has always been reckoned certain death for a giaour to show his face. The remarkable success of Mr. Fawcett in the House in spite of his blindness makes one sanguine that Mr. Kavanagh will be able to hold his seat with advantage to the country and comfort to himself. Protestant landlords out of Ulster who can win in such a contest, and whose tenantry are absolutely contented, are too rare for us willingly to spare one when found, even though he be a Tory without arms or legs."

The correspondent of an English journal has the following remarks anent the election of Mr. Arthur Kavanagh to Parliament:

"Mr. Kavanagh, the man without arms or legs, has been returned, and now what will the House do with him? How will he get to his seat, and when he wishes to talk—and as he is an Irishman, and very eloquent, of course he will want to talk—how will he address the House? When a member is talking he is said to be 'on his legs,' but poor Mr. Kavanagh has no legs. Before a member can catch the Speaker's eye he must rise, but without help Mr. Kavanagh cannot rise. There would be, if there were no precedent as a guide, a good deal of wig-shaking in Mr. Speaker's room over this subject. Fortunately, though, there is a precedent exactly to the point. Some years ago we had in the House a Mr. Wynne—the Right Honorable Charles Watkin Williams Wynne. He was for a long time the Father of the House. He sat for Montgomeryshire from the year 1797 till 1847, exactly fifty years. In the latter part of Mr. Wynne's life he was paralyzed, and could neither walk nor stand, and the House permitted him to be carried to his seat in a chair by two porters, and to address the House in a sitting posture. The problem, then, how Mr. Kavanagh is to get into the House, and how he is to address the House, may be considered as solved. He will probably not be carried, but be wheeled into the House: possibly he will wheel himself in one of those patent chairs now so common. True, he has no hands, but then he has hooks, and is exceedingly clever in the use of them. He can drive four-in-hand, bring down his bird flying, and ride on horseback. Surely, then, he can wheel himself about in a chair. The appearance though of Mr. Kavanagh, thus maimed, in the House is certainly a strange event. The House of Commons is five hundred years old, and more, and we may decide, I think, that it has never had such a member before. And then we have a blind man, too, another new thing in Parliamentary history. Strange events, these, in this latter end of the world."

TERMINUS.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

It is time to be old,
To take in sail:—
The god of bounds,
Who sets to seas a shore,
Came to me in his fatal rounds,
And said, "No more!
No further spread
Thy broad ambitious branches and thy root;
Fancy departs; no more invent,
Contract thy firmament
To compass of a tent.
There's not enough of this and that,
Make thy option which of two;
Economise the failing now,
Not the less adore the Giver,
Leave the many and hold the few,
Timely wise, accept the terms,
Soften the fall with wary foot;
A little while
Still plan and smile,
And fault of novel germs,
Mature the fallen fruit.

Curse, if thou wilt, the sires,
Bad husbands of their fires—
Who, when they gave thee breath,
Failed to bequeath
The needful sinew stark as once,
The Baresark marrow to thy bones,
But left a legacy of ebbing veins,
Inconstant heat and nerveless reins,—
Amid the Muses, left these deaf and dumb,
Amid the gladiators, halt and numb."

As the bird trims her to the gale,
I trim myself to the storm of time,
I man the rudder, reef the sail,
Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime:
"Lowly, faithful, banish fear,
Right onward drive unharmed;
The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
And every wave is charmed."

WE hope we do not violate confidence in stating a fact to the honor of a New York merchant, which, though a private transaction, ought to be known. Our fellow-citizen, Mr. Cyrus W. Field—whose name will always be connected with the Atlantic Telegraph—has twice nearly ruined himself by his devotion to that enterprise. Though a man of independent fortune when he began, he embarked in it so large a portion of his capital as nearly to make shipwreck of the whole. While in England, engaged in the expedition of 1857, a financial storm swept over this country, and his house suspended, but on his return he asked only for time, and paid all in full with interest. But the stoppage was a heavy blow, and being followed by a fire in 1859, which burned his store to the ground, and by the panic of December, 1860, just before the breaking out of the war, he was finally obliged to compromise with his creditors. Thus released, he devoted himself to the work of his life, which he has at last carried through. The success of the Atlantic Telegraph, we are happy to learn, has brought back a portion of his lost wealth, and his first care has been to make good all losses to others. He has addressed a letter to every creditor who suffered by the failure of the house in 1860, requesting him to send a statement of the amount compromised, adding the interest for nearly six years, and as fast as presented returns a check in full. The whole amount will be about $200,000. Such a fact, however much he may wish to keep it secret, ought to be known to his honor, and to the honor of the merchants of New York.—*New York Evening Post.*

ENTHUSIASM.—Considered in its nature and effects, enthusiasm is a magnanimous passion. Adversity rarely overthrows it. Even in a barren fortune it strikes deep root. It is no parasite at the tables of the great—the mere titled and the mere wealthy. The men it smiles on and inspires are heroes, philosophers, projectors, poets, inventors in the arts, political reformers, founders of religion. It is friendly, but not social. It loves the quiet party, but avoids the merry meeting. It breathes in a senate. It is the soul of a popular assembly. It lives and dies with public virtue. It affects democracy. It produced all the glory of the Athenian commonwealth. It is fostering the rising greatness of the United States. In private life it is the soul of love and friendship. As long as his enthusiasm lasts, you may reckon on an enthusiast for your friend; he will never desert you till he becomes quite another man. Such a change is not easily brought about, where the passion, at the first, had firm root in the mind; for it is exceedingly fond of old associations, and turns back with a kind of delight, which is utterly indescribable, to everything that can recall its early hopes and joys.

ONE OF GOD'S NOBLEMEN.—A flat-boat full of soldiers, a few of whom were Africans, attempted to land at Rodman's Point, on the coast of South Carolina. The rebels were awaiting their approach in ambuscade, and reserved their fire till the end of the boat was resting on the shore, and then opened a deadly fire. Life could only be saved by lying flat on the boat's bottom; and if they remained inactive long the whole boat-load would be captured. One of the negro sailors who saw the situation, and the vital importance of getting the boat off, as well as the imminent danger of the attempt, said: "Somebody got to die to get us all out dis 'ere, and it mought jus' as well be me as anybody!" He then deliberately rose and stepped on shore, and pushed the boat off. As she swung clear, and the men in the bottom were saved, the body of the noble African fell forward into the end of the boat pierced by five bullets.—*Frank Moore's "Anecdotes of the War."*

THE CASTLE-BUILDER.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

A GENTLE boy, with soft and silken locks,
A dreamy boy, with brown and tender eyes,
A castle-builder, with his wooden blocks,
And towers that touch imaginary skies.

A fearless rider on his father's knee,
An eager listener unto stories told
At the Round Table of the nursery,
Of heroes and adventures manifold.

There will be other towers for thee to build:
There will be other steeds for thee to ride;
There will be other legends, and all filled
With greater marvels and more glorified.

Build on, and make thy castles high and fair,
Rising and reaching upward to the skies;
Listen to voices in the upper air,
Nor lose thy simple faith in mysteries.

—*Our Young Folks.*

SORROWS OF A LECTURER.

WE do not know the author of the following experiences, but we think he will receive the sympathy of our readers:

For the benefit of a numerous class of ambitious men who desire to become popular lecturers, I send you a few items of my experience. I went to Southern Illinois to get started as a popular lecturer. I was advertised under the *nom de plume* of the "Fat Contributor." My audience was small, owing to the public being suddenly and severely indisposed. They were indisposed to come to the lecture. My audience, in fact, consisted of but one people. He was a gentleman. I began my discourse: "Gentlemen and ladies," but changed it quickly to "Respected sir!" Before I could proceed any further my audience arose to his feet as one man. I inquired the cause of the interruption:

"Sir," said he, "the audience is disappointed in the size of the lecturer."

"Well, my dear sir," said I, "the lecturer is also disappointed in the size of the audience, and if you will not say anything about it, I will not."

He allowed me to proceed, and at the conclusion was so well pleased that he urged me to stay another night, when he promised me a much larger audience. He wouldn't come himself but would send his wife, who weighed 265 lbs. I didn't stay.

I have had a good deal of money in the house at one time and another, generally in the pockets of some wealthy man in the audience. I always come home with money, however—I borrow a little to come home with.

I have had some large houses. The largest house I had was at Louisville, Kentucky. That house must have been two hundred feet long and ninety feet wide, while in height it come pretty high—took all the proceeds to pay the rent. A Louisville editor said a good thing about me. He said: The "Fat Contributor" lectured last night to a small house. His style resembles Artemus Ward's, but he has not the ease and grace of Artemus before the audience.

As though a lecturer could be at ease before an audience when the audience didn't pay expenses. As grace accompanies meat, and if there wasn't profit enough in the house to buy meat, where's my grace?

The fullest house ever I had was at Pithole City, in the oil regions. Every man was full of beer. The lecture went off very well, notwithstanding. It didn't go off as well as my doorkeeper did—he went off with the receipts.

I gave two consecutive lectures at Oil City. At the conclusion of the second lecture one of the first citizens (the second edition had not yet arrived), arose and assured me that I had delighted them greatly. He said they had not enjoyed themselves so much since the Thayers were hung. He added that it was the request of the audience *en masse*—there were five *en masse* altogether—that I should stay another night. The landlord of the inn where I was stopping arose somewhat hastily, and stated that I could not stay another night with him unless my bill was guaranteed. Such is often-times the encouragement which genius receives at the hands of the mercenary.

A little town on the Alleghany turned out well. The principal occupation of the inhabitants was to haul oil. That being the only hall they had, I lectured in the grocery shop. The people turned out the lights—then they turned out the lecturer because he was not fat enough. They gave me twenty minutes to leave the town. I told them if they'd make it $20 I'd go!

At the termination of the twenty minutes I felt something come up against me from behind. My first impression was that it was an old fashioned leather valise. Subsequent reflection convinced me it was a boot. I shook hands with them all with much feeling. I told them they must excuse me, for I felt I had to go. Leaving somewhat hastily, I caught the sound of cherub voices in the grocery shop, singing in tones of the most pathetic inquiry—

Shall we never more behold thee,
Never hear that winning voice again?

I yelled back that they wouldn't—not if I could help it. That "winning voice" didn't seem to win the neighborhood.

I have tried many agents. They prove unsatisfactory, with one exception. He never asked for money. He never alluded to money but once. Said he to me one day, "You don't care for money, do you?" "No, indeed," said I, "I never saw you have a penny." I humored him in these harmless flights of wit.

SONNET.

BY HENRY TIMROD.

MOST men know love but as a part of life:
They hide it in some corner of the breast,
Even from themselves; and only when they rest,—
In the brief pauses of that daily strife
Wherewith the world might else be not so rife,—
They draw it forth (as one draws forth a toy
To soothe some ardent, kiss-exacting boy),
And hold it up to sister, child or wife.
Ah me! why may not love and life be one!
Why walk we thus alone, when by our side
Love, like a visible God, might be our guide?
How would the marts grow noble, and the street,
Worn now like dungeon floors by weary feet,
Seem like a golden court-way of the sun!

NECESSARIES AND LUXURIES IN PARIS.—Dr. Veron tells in his memoirs the story of a poor chorister, who abused the charter of poverty, life seems to accord musicians. Touched by the misery of the lad, the generous doctor gave him a napoleon to buy at least a pair of shoes in the place of the gaping heelless pair he wore. The lad looked at the gold coin and suddenly his face brightened and he said: "I wish you would let me buy a walking-stick with this money." The doctor of course consented, and the next day he saw the tatterdemalion strutting about the opera with a twenty-franc cane and with the shoes which had challenged the doctor's pity. That is Paris. The luxuries of other capitals are the prime necessaries of life here. We have so metamorphosed life, we live so oddly, we have weaved so much that is artificial in the woof of life, nature is completely hidden. Give a large class of our population election between a good dinner and a seat at some theatre, they will select the latter. Rise in the social scale and look into the houses, how many families will you find who live on the meanest viands (tasting, for instance, no meat but the insipid beef which makes their soup) that in the street they may make a brilliant show.

AN ALLOWANCE OF WINE.—Some light is thrown on the manners of lawyers in the 18th century by an order made by the authorities of Barnard's Inn, who, in November, 1706, named two quarts as the allowance of wine to be given to each mess of four men by two gentlemen on going through the ceremony of "initiation." Of course, this amount of wine was an "extra" allowance, in addition to the ale and sherry assigned to members by the regular dietary of the house. Even Sheridan, who boasted that he could drink any given quanity of wine, would have thought twice before he drank so large a given quantity, in addition to a liberal allowance of stimulant. Anyhow, the quantity was fixed—a fact that would have elicited an expression of approval from Chief Baron Thomson, who, loving Port wine wisely, though too well, expressed at the same time his concurrence with the words and his dissent from the opinion of a barrister who observed—"I hold, my lord, that after a good dinner a certain quantity of wine does no harm." With a smile, the Chief Baron rejoined—"True, sir; it is the uncertain quantity that does the mischief."—*Jefferson's Book About Lawyers.*

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